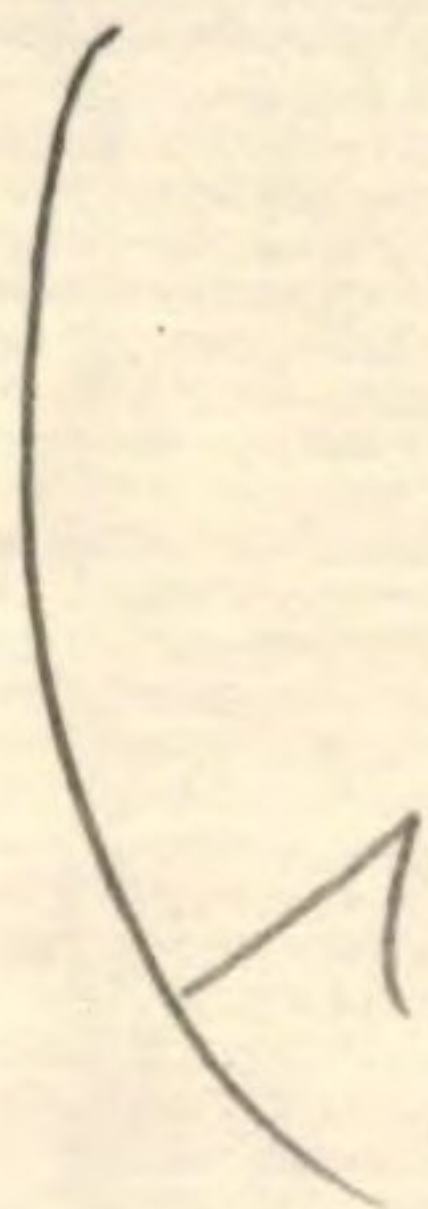


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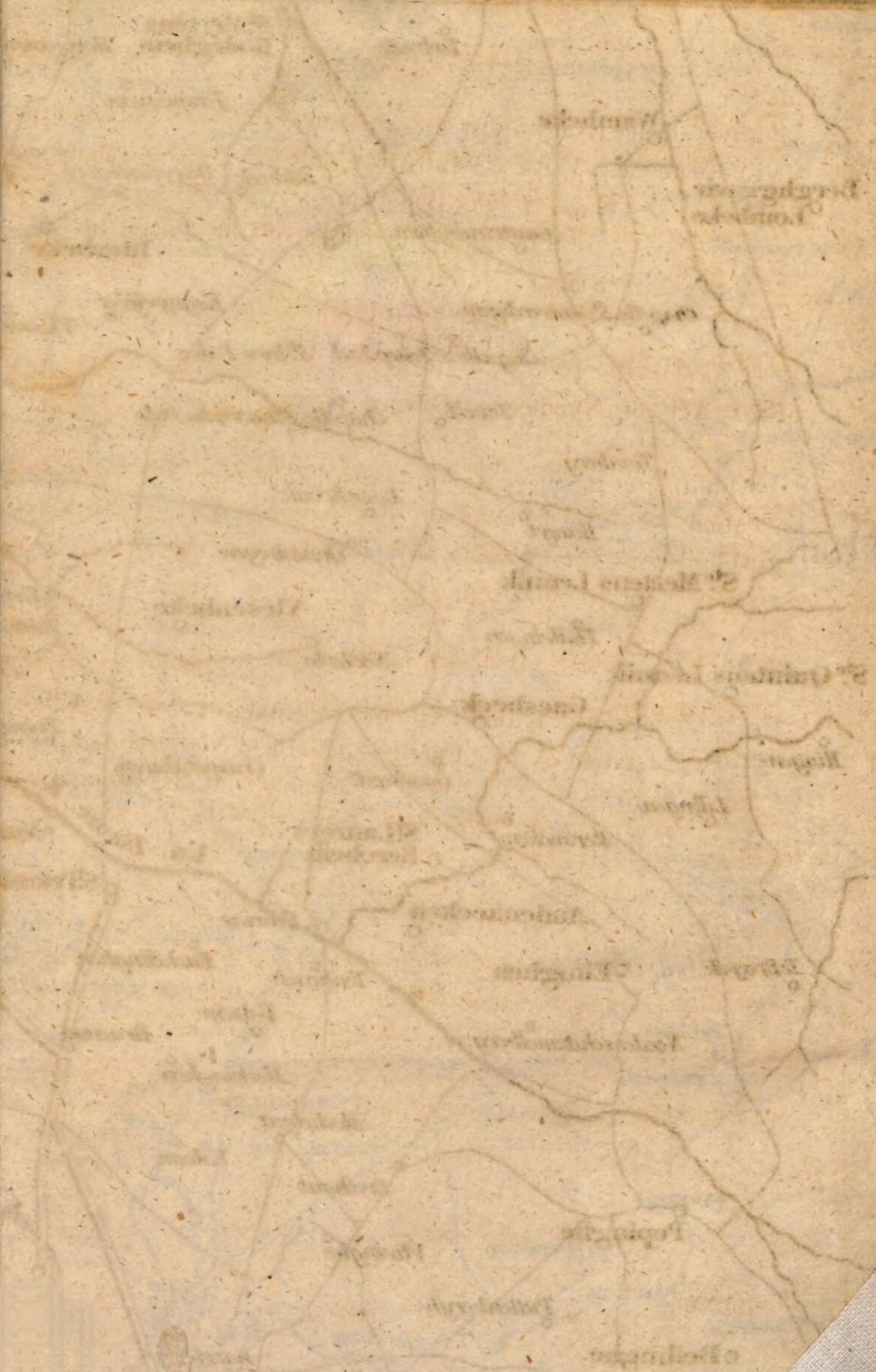
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BAJ



THE
Second Usurpation of Buonaparte ;

OR A HISTORY OF THE

CAUSES, PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE IN 1815:

PARTICULARLY COMPRISING

A MINUTE AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF THE EVER-
MEMORABLE

VICTORY OF WATERLOO.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

APPENDICES,

*CONTAINING THE OFFICIAL BULLETINS OF THIS GLORIOUS AND
DECISIVE BATTLE.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL I.

BY EDMUND BOYCE,

AUTHOR OF THE BELGIAN TRAVELLER, TRANSLATOR OF LABAUME'S CAMPAIGN
IN RUSSIA, AND GIRAUD'S CAMPAIGN OF PARIS, &c.

ASSISTED BY ORIGINAL AND IMPORTANT COMMUNICATIONS
FROM BRITISH AND PRUSSIAN OFFICERS.

WITH ACCURATE MAPS, PLANS, &c.

London:

PRINTED FOR SAMUEL LEIGH, 18, STRAND,

BY W. CLOWES, ARMY PRINTING-OFFICE,

Northumberland-court, Strand.

1816.

THE
SECOND DISCUSSION OF THE

CAUSES, PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE IN 1815

PARTICULARLY COMPARING



A WHITE AND CROWNED EAGLE, THE EMBLEM
OF THE REVOLUTION, IN THE
CAPITULUM OF THE CATHEDRAL OF
OF 1814, WHICH INTERESTING AND
APPENDICES

DESCEND FROM THE
THE TWO VOLUMES

BY EDMUND BOYCE
AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE
RELATIONS OF THE

PUBLIC, HE CONCEIVED THAT
SENT THE
OF THE SECOND

OF THE
LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SAMUEL LEIGH, 38, STRAND
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NEWINGTON GREEN, LONDON

1816

PREFACE.

THE author of the following work had been engaged in the translation of Labaume's Campaign in Russia, and Giraud's Campaign of 1814, which contain an interesting and connected narrative of the rapid decline of the fortune of Napoleon, and his precipitate descent from that elevation to attain which he had sacrificed every honourable principle and deluged the world with blood. Grateful for the kind reception which these translations had received from an approving public, he conceived himself pledged to present the English reader with the best account of the second and more extraordinary volume of the life of Buonaparte.

For this purpose he carefully perused every publication on the subject with which the French press teemed, but not finding one work which for independent thinking, or

impartial, accurate, and interesting detail, deserved to be placed on the same shelf with Labaume and Giraud, he was induced to attempt to compose a Narrative of the unparalleled Revolution of 1815.

The result of his efforts is now before the public. He claims no merit, but that of a faithful narrator of events, so far as he could collect them from the documents which so short a space of time has permitted to transpire: and none but they who have toiled through the innumerable, contradictory, and irreconcilable statements of the same transactions, which he has been compelled to collate and to compare, can imagine how difficult has been this apparently simple task.

The author has freely expressed his sentiments on men and measures. He belongs to no political party. He courts no great man's favour; he fears no man's frown. His only ambition is to be found a faithful historian, a determined enemy to tyranny, and a zealous advocate of that rational liberty which constitutes the security, the glory, and the happiness of Britain.

If the recluse of St. Helena may appear to some readers to occupy too prominent a

place in the following work, the apology which the author offers is, that he was writing a history of France during the Spring of 1815, and that the Ruler of France must necessarily play the principal part in the grand and awful drama.

In relating the events of the short, yet glorious campaign which effected the deliverance of Europe, the author has been assisted by several valuable and original communications from those who shared in the honour of the day of Waterloo. He acknowledges his obligations with gratitude, and respectfully solicits any information that may enrich another edition (should the kindness of the public require one) with more accurate and fuller details of that brilliant triumph of British skill and valour.

The plan of the battle has been very carefully drawn from official documents of the highest authority, and is offered to the public with the full confidence of its being found most minutely and perfectly correct. The map of Belgium, and especially the minute delineation of the whole theatre of the campaign from the plan of Compté Ferrari, will, doubtless, be acceptable to the reader.

The author will conclude by recommending to those who may have formed different impressions of any of the transactions recorded in this work, and particularly of any of the details of the decisive victory of the 18th of June, the following anecdote, extracted from a very excellent summary of the campaign in the Quarterly Review for July, 1815. “When after the victory of Aumale, in which Henry IV was wounded, he called his Generals round his bed to give him an account of what had occurred subsequently to his leaving the field, no two could agree on the course of the very events in which they had been actors; and the King struck with the difficulty of ascertaining facts so evident and recent, exclaimed ‘*Voilà ce que c’est que l’histoire!*’— ‘What then is history?’”

Jan. 15th, 1815.

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The Portrait drawn from a Gem by Satchwell, the Battle piece drawn by Duplessi-Bortaux, the whole engraved by M. Freeman.

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

General Causes of the Restoration of Buonaparte arising from the New Proprietors of the National Property ;—The Middle Classes ;—The Republicans ;—The Constitutionalists, and the Army.

WHEN, in the spring of the year 1814, Paris poured forth her countless multitudes, to hail with acclamations of rapture the return of Lewis XVIII to the throne of his ancestors; when, appearing at a window of the Thuilleries, the virtuous monarch pressed his hand on his heart, and then extending his arms towards the vast assembly cried, “You are indeed my children—I feel it here—I fold you thus in my paternal embrace;” and the people, with one simultaneous impulse, enthusiastically replied, “Long live the King—Long live our

“ Father ; ”—when not one cry of treason was heard,—not a solitary murmur weakened the sublime effect of the scene, what superficial observer would have expected the events which so soon followed? Who would have ventured to predict, that in ten months, this excellent and patriotic prince would be an outcast from France ; and the same mob would hail with equal fervour the re-appearance of the despot whom they now execrated, and who had filled their country with widows and orphans ?

The situation of France at the recall of Lewis is justly and eloquently described by the traitorous yet interesting Labedoyère. “ In 1814, “ neither the nation nor the army could longer “ support the yoke of Buonaparte. It was tired “ of war without motive, and exhausted by sacri- “ fices without utility. All felt the necessity of a “ repairing government. Where could we flatter “ ourselves that we should find it, but in the re- “ call of the Bourbons, whose names reminded “ France of a long series of good kings, and ages “ of prosperity. Hence they were welcomed with “ enthusiasm.”

This enthusiasm was universal. The royalist, who during five and twenty years had lamented the exile of his sovereign, and whose allegiance no misfortunes could seduce, had sufficient cause for triumph in the restoration of the legitimate monarch ; and he hoped that the progress of events,

and the change of opinion would gradually release his prince from those concessions to liberty, which present circumstances had extorted. The friend of freedom rejoiced in the prospect of a rational and moderate government. All the institutions which were worth contending for were guaranteed by the new charter. The liberty of the press was respected. The liberty of worship was sanctioned. Property was inviolable and sacred. The ministers were responsible. The judges were independent of the executive power, and a true representative system was established. The struggles and evils of the revolution had not been in vain. All parties were satisfied, and vied with each other in the liveliest and sincerest acclamations of joy. They abandoned themselves to a species of mental intoxication, while they contemplated a union of legitimate monarchy with true liberty, which promised to close for ever the sufferings of the revolution, and to perpetuate its blessings.

The first benefit which the return of the Bourbons conferred on France was that peace for which every good citizen had so long sighed ; a peace destitute indeed of the acquisitions of conquest, but not disgraceful. Industry, long paralyzed, recommenced her ingenious labours. Commerce renewed her lucrative speculations. Plenty, again springing from the lap of tranquillity, promised to attach the people to the government by the strong ties of gratitude ; and,

in spite of the regret of some soldiers eager for new laurels, real happiness consoled the French for the absence of glory.

It will be necessary to examine by what means this enthusiasm was so soon chilled, and France again delivered over to all the calamities from which she had so lately been emancipated.

It was soon evident to all, except the besotted flatterers of the court, that the enthusiasm of the French had subsided into absolute indifference, and that indifference had been succeeded by suspicion and discontent.

One cause of this originated in the very nature of the revolution, and the character of the people. Just released from an iron despotism, the French imagined that they had a right not merely to a partial amelioration of their condition, but to a total change; not merely to slow and gentle and wise modifications, but to a rapid and complete metamorphosis. The provisional government, which had presided over the passage from the imperial tyranny to the restoration of royalty, had promised much. The princes, who preceded the king, had promised more; the known benevolence of the monarch had encouraged the most romantic hopes; and when a promise is conceded to a people lively and impatient like the French, their expectations know not any bounds.

The cruel circumstances under which Lewis returned prevented him from doing the good he

wished, and disappointed the hopes of his subjects ; and as a sick child destroys by his petulance the progressive effect of the most salutary medicine, and dashes from him the remedy which does not afford immediate relief ; so the French became disgusted with the new system of things, because they continued to feel the malignant influence of the follies and vices of the former government, and, in the very instant of his ascending the throne, the king had not been able to obliterate every trace of past calamity.

France had undergone a material change since the revolution, both in the condition and character of the people. The proprietary nobility were entirely destroyed, and their vast estates parcelled among those who were formerly esteemed of little more value than the beasts of the field. A considerable portion of the peasantry had bought little tracts of land sufficient for their subsistence, and entitling them to a vote in the election of the representatives of the nation. This had inspired them with a pride before unknown, and a high sense of their newly-acquired importance.

Formerly ignorant, humble, and tranquil, they now became insolent and fierce. A recollection of their previous debasement excited in their bosoms hatred for their oppressors, and an ardent, and natural, but despicable desire of revenge.

Their advance in the scale of society was followed by a corresponding change in their educa-

tion, and their degree of knowledge. They now acquired that half-illumination, which indeed is the commencement of light, and the termination of darkness, but which possesses all the dangers of both, without the advantages of either. The labourer and the vine-dresser suddenly became reasoners ; but the discussions to which they were unused only fed their vanity, or generated doubt and irreligion. The fatal consequence of this was too soon evident in their domestic characters. Libertinism and conjugal infidelity made rapid progress. That change, that illumination and emancipation of the degraded and enslaved peasantry of France, which every benevolent mind ardently desired, and which, gradually effected, would have exalted the national character, and assured the national happiness, being produced suddenly, and without preparation, sapped every virtuous principle, and became the fruitful source of error and crime.

The new proprietors exulted in their deliverance from the domination of Buonaparte, who had lavished the blood of their children, and impolitically declared that he would wrest from them the last horse and the last crown, rather than relinquish his ambitious projects : but when the fervour of the moment was abated, they naturally regarded with fear and suspicion, the return of that family under which they had not been permitted to enjoy a political existence, and of those

men to whom they had once been slaves, and of whose property they were now possessed. They scrutinized every act of the new government; they were distracted by a thousand imaginary terrors, and magnified every real cause of apprehension.

The history of every nation proves that the fears of the multitude, for objects which they value, are always extravagant far beyond the actual danger.

It was the evident policy of Lewis not only solemnly to declare that all property should be sacred, and that the sales of the national estates should be irrevocable; but also, by every act of his administration to inspire the new proprietors with confidence. The monarch never entertained the most distant intention of disturbing the present possessors of the emigrant domains. The breath of scandal has not sullied the purity of his views. But he was surrounded by the faithful and impoverished companions of his exile. The new revolution had restored them to their country, but not to the wealth and consequence which they once enjoyed, and on which they cast many a wistful glance. It was natural for them to encourage the hope that circumstances might ere long enable them to prefer their claim to what they regarded as their legitimate right. It was natural for them to endeavour to hasten this

auspicious period, and even, in the fulness of their hearts, to express their wishes and intentions.

This was too often done by some intemperate and discontented nobles. It was whispered (more as a description of their hopes than of the actual views of the monarch) that Lewis only waited till he felt himself secure on his throne, when he would eject the unlawful occupants of the national domains, and restore his faithful followers to the patrimony of their ancestors.

Count Ferrand, one of the ministers of the king, was so imprudent as to utter the most direct menaces against the possessors of national property.

This impolitic language, which was not sufficiently checked by the court, and which received too much sanction from some legal decisions that were easily misunderstood and perverted, produced an immediate and fatal impression. The disaffected eagerly availed themselves of it, and circulated it through the provinces with a thousand exaggerations.

Two pamphlets were written by Messrs. Dard and Falconnet, violently condemning the alienation of the property of the emigrants, and recommending its restitution. These publications had an extensive and almost incredible circulation. The emigrants hoped that the public mind would be prepared for a measure which formed the consummation of all their hopes, and the conspirators

rightly judged that they could adopt no better means of exciting general apprehension and discontent. At length the ministry thought it necessary to interfere, and the authors were ordered to be imprisoned; but when it was soon afterwards announced that they had been released without punishment and without censure, the suspicion was too naturally excited, that the court was secretly favourable to the cause which these writers advocated.

A small, but active and desperate band, was traitorously plotting the return of Napoleon. Persons were sent by them through the departments, under the pretext of purchasing land. They were instructed to reject with contempt every offer of what had been national property, and diligently to propagate the report that it was the determination of the court soon to reclaim the estates of all the noblesse. The historian is compelled to add, that various germs of a design to encroach on the new order of things had really sprung up, and were already visible. They apparently wanted only time and opportunity to ripen.

The greatest alarm rapidly prevailed among all the proprietors. Their estates were suddenly and strangely depreciated in value. They were not considered to be worth more than two or three years' purchase. To alarm, speedily succeeded discontent; and to discontent, alienation of affection, and a wish for the return of that government under

which their estates had been acquired, and under which alone they appeared to be secure. This accounts for the joy with which Buonaparte was received, not only by the military, but by the peasantry, during the whole of his progress from Cannes to Paris.

The Middle Classes of society had likewise undergone a considerable change. Before the revolution, they had been excluded from all military rank, and from most civil offices. Those only, who could trace back their noble descent through three generations, were permitted to hold commissions in the army, or were entitled to vote in the states-general.

The contempt of the nobility for the *bourgeois*, and the hatred with which the *bourgeois* regarded the *noblesse*, were proverbial.

The middle classes were humbled and mortified by the privileges of the nobility: but, at the revolution, they rushed into those stations which the gentry, impoverished and proscribed, could no longer occupy. The whole government was monopolised by them, and it was their hour of triumph and exultation.

They, like the peasantry, had been disgusted with the tyranny of Buonaparte, and had long and ardently wished for a change; they therefore welcomed the return of Lewis with a burst of transport. But with Lewis returned those whose prerogatives they had usurped, and whose places

they had filled. They were unwilling to descend from the honourable station which they now occupied, and the ancient nobility were averse to acknowledge their newly acquired privileges. Seeds of mutual dislike were inevitably sown, and too speedily ripened into secret and even acknowledged hostility.

The excusable, but imprudent conduct of the court favourites widened the breach. It was not to be expected that the king and his court could feel much sincere affection for those who owed their honours and their wealth to the active part which they had borne in the various scenes of the revolution, and who had been distinguished for their strenuous opposition to the old *regime*: but prudence demanded that Lewis should cautiously conceal the dislike which he could not conquer, and that all men of talents and influence should be received with equal affability, whatever principles they had formerly professed, or to whatever party they had belonged. This was unfortunately neglected. The chief actors in the revolution were treated with studied coolness, or regarded with undisguised aversion; and the smiles of the ministers were reserved for those alone, who by their sufferings and fidelity had doubtless deserved the friendship and esteem of the monarch, but whom the majority of their countrymen regarded with unpleasing recollections, and disquieting fears.

Many of the middle classes had become proprietors of the forfeited estates of the *noblesse*. These persons shared in all the suspicions of the peasantry, and attributing to their opponents many evil intentions which they had not for one moment cherished, and alarmed at, and magnifying every inadvertent and unmeaning expression of the disappointed and necessitous nobles, they soon regarded their possessions as insecure, and were gradually alienated from the new government.

The enthusiasm with which the Bourbons were at first received arose from no cordial attachment to that family. More than twenty years had elapsed since they had sought refuge in a foreign land. Their claims had been long exploded, and almost forgotten. A new generation of men had sprung up to whom they were totally unknown. They were hailed, not as legitimate princes, but as delivering their country from the iron despotism of Napoleon, and the more-to-be-dreaded military government which would have succeeded him, had not the manœuvres of the marshals been anticipated and prevented. They were welcomed, not as returning to the throne of their forefathers, but as persons with whom the allied sovereigns would probably treat on terms most consistent with the honour and safety of France, and from whom conditions favourable to liberty might be successfully demanded. The unfortunate change

in the public mind which has been described, was, therefore, too easily and speedily produced. The corruption and laxity of principle which characterized the army, had made a rapid and destructive progress through this class of society. The general feeling of right and wrong was woefully deficient. The private characters, or moral principles of the rulers were no longer regarded, and that only was admired which flattered the national vanity, or contributed to the universal depravity. A pleasing tourist* relates, that a French lady, after exhibiting the utmost indignation at a slight insinuation derogatory to the character of Buonaparte, concluded with acknowledging, that "certainly he told them many falsehoods; he had no feeling for any one; and he would shed blood as if it were dirty water."

Accustomed to the endless changes of the revolution, a desire of change, an incapability of inaction, became a predominant feature of the French character. Buonaparte understood this, and gratified this craving propensity by a continual succession of new objects, which arrested the attention of the people, and powerfully excited their hopes or their fears.

The restless ambition of their chief had spread its destructive influence through every class of society. When a drummer had become a marshal, a postilion a king, and a lieutenant an

* Mr. Scott.

emperor, the people were no longer contented with the station which Providence had assigned them. The very bailiff's follower envied the honours of the chancellor, and the little ragged chorister hoped that chance or merit might one day procure him the cardinal's hat. This was a dangerous state of society, and presaged new revolutions, and greater calamities†.

† The youth of the present day mistake their passions for virtue, ambition for love of glory, boasting for courage, vanity for elevation of character, prodigality for generosity, folly for enthusiasm, and contempt of others for genius.

MADAME DE STAEL.

A striking and not unjust comparison is drawn by an able writer between the manners of the French before and after the revolution. It is perfectly true of the middle and superior classes of society, but not of the peasantry, to whom the real benefits of the revolution were principally confined.

“ When the professions were submitted to a kind of hereditary
 “ vocation, every one knew before-hand the nature of his obli-
 “ gations, the object of his studies, and the limit of his am-
 “ bition. Every one was contented with his situation. The sol-
 “ dier thought not of soliciting the bâton of a marshal of France,
 “ the country vicar dreamed not of ascending the episcopal
 “ throne, nor the clerk of becoming secretary of state.

“ The progress of the arts and of industry was slower, but
 “ less equivocal. Private fortunes were more moderate, but
 “ more certain. Comfort presided in every family, but luxury
 “ was unknown. Commerce was less agitated, but without
 “ fluctuation. Emulation in the arts, and not jealousy of a
 “ rival's success, was the noblest spur to improvement. Talent
 “ was universally acknowledged, but not universal talents; and
 “ good Frenchmen were found in every rank of society, but no
 “ philosophers. The son did not blush at the depravity of his
 “ father, and the father contemplated with pride the morals,

Of the political parties into which France was divided, the Republicans and the Constitution-
alists were the chief. The former had abandoned
most of their extravagant notions of liberty, and
were either become indifferent to the form of

“ the studies, and the improvement of the son. The citizens
“ gave their children an education proportionate to their for-
“ tunes; and transmitted to them, with their little heritage, that
“ moderation in their desires which had constituted the happi-
“ ness of their own lives. Their repasts were less splendid,
“ their balls less brilliant, their fêtes less frequent. The science
“ of good eating and drinking was less studied; but we heard
“ less of adulteries, divorces, and all those crimes which now
“ occupy the attention of our magistrates, the pen of our jour-
“ nalists, and the hundred mouths of scandal.

“ Our situation, our morals, and our customs have under-
“ gone a total metamorphosis. Is our country richer? Its riches
“ have only changed hands. They have passed from the per-
“ sons who had long legitimately possessed them, to those who
“ before had nothing: and the number of the poor has been
“ thereby increased, for the riches which were unjustly acquired
“ were soon dissipated, and left behind them minds without
“ energy, and evils without remedy. Is the nation wiser? We
“ have discovered many principles before unknown, which have
“ troubled our repose, unchained our passions, and fostered our
“ vices. We have learned that kings are tyrants, and that
“ priests are impostors; but we have forgotten those salutary
“ truths which taught us to be affectionate parents, dutiful
“ children, and good citizens.

“ Are we happier or more virtuous? Our fathers complain
“ of the presumption and ingratitude of their children; and the
“ children complain of the despotic authority and the protracted
“ existence of their parents. The women lament the state of
“ desertion in which they have been left by their husbands, since

vernment, or secretly friendly to a limited monarchy. They were more distinguished from the Constitutionalists by the part which they had borne in the revolution, than by their present sentiments.

They were unnecessarily shocked when the monarch, fatally advised by those who had not yet learned to accommodate themselves to the new state of things, publicly refused his assent to the charter proposed to him by the Conservative Senate, and the acceptance of which was the condition of his being chosen to rule over France* :—when he declared that he would not

“ political discussions have occupied every mind, and bewildered every understanding ;—and the husbands are dissatisfied with the expense and dissipation of their wives, since the equality of rights has made part of the social code. Masters lament the infidelity of their servants, and merchants the stagnation of commerce. All complain, and none are happy. We have lost our gaiety, our buoyancy of spirits, our amiable levity ; we have lost our manners, our habits, our character : and what have we gained ? An unfeeling egotism ; an impenetrable self-conceit ; a contempt for ancient opinions ; false ideas of liberty and government ; half-intelligence on objects foreign to our occupations, our affections, and our interests, and a profound ignorance of our duty ; and, finally, the vanity to know every thing without study, and to decide on every thing without information.”

HIST. DE LA REVOL., du 20 Mars. 1815, p. 246, &c.

* When the allies allowed the provisional government to choose a new constitution or dynasty, a proposition was sent to Lewis XVIII, offering him the crown on certain conditions. The last

receive his crown from the hands of his people, but assumed it as the inheritance of his fathers:— and when, with strange thoughtlessness, he asserted, that not to the choice of the French, not to the affection of his subjects, but to the Prince Regent of England, under God, he owed his crown.

article was as follows: “ Lewis Stanislaus Xavier of France
“ shall be proclaimed King of the French as soon as he shall
“ have signed the constitutional charter, and sworn to it in the
“ following terms: ‘ I accept the constitution, I swear to ob-
“ ‘ serve it, and cause it to be observed.’ ”

Lewis ought to have accepted or refused the conditions by an open and distinct declaration. The articles were so many conditions of his restoration. He returned no answer, but proceeded to France as king. What was the fair inference from this? What could be concluded, but that he came according to the decree, and under its provisions?

As soon, however, as he had reached Paris (on the understanding on the part of the French, that he had accepted the terms), and had received the homage of the marshals and the army, and some of the constituted authorities, he took advantage of the popular enthusiasm in favour of the new order of things, to refuse to accept the charter, and claimed the crown as his hereditary right. There was a deception in this, which caused considerable suspicion, and much disgust.

The author does not mean to enter into the question whether Lewis ought or ought not to have accepted the charter, but he should not have deluded the French into the supposition that he meant to accept it, and when, under that supposition, he had been permitted to establish himself in power, shamelessly violate the very conditions on which he was recalled.

The Constitutionalists, who had always advocated the cause of a limited monarchy, who had often pleaded the cause of the Bourbons, who had been the truest friends of the family in the early stages of the revolution, and who had never been disgraced by its atrocities, were surprised, offended, and rendered suspicious by the marked slight, bordering on insult, with which the virtuous La Fayette, the representative of their party, was received on his first appearance at court.

Both the Republicans and Constitutionalists were discontented, and apprehensive; but no systematic plan of rebellion appears to have been formed, no change seems, at least for some months, to have been meditated by them.

If Lewis gave considerable offence to these parties by his disinclination to make every sacrifice which they expected in favour of liberty, it may be pleaded as his apology, that history has not presented us with many monarchs who had sufficient courage voluntarily to relinquish the prerogatives of their crown, and cast themselves on the generosity or caprice of the people; and that this was scarcely to be expected from an old man, worn out by misfortunes and disease; and especially from one who was surrounded by a crowd of illiberal and turbulent courtiers, ready even to revolt against him under the name of royalty, and determined to kindle afresh the torch of civil war,

if they could not otherwise re-establish the former despotic power of the Bourbons.

The historian records with pleasure, that this unfortunate and virtuous monarch was often and angrily reproached by his own family, as not being sufficiently a royalist. Posterity will consider this reproach, as constituting his noblest praise.

If the zealous friends of liberty were displeased that the king sometimes appeared to forget the principles of the constitutional charter, the candid and impartial observer will acknowledge that, surrounded as Lewis was by evil counsellors, it reflects the highest credit on his patriotism and virtue that, with so few exceptions, he submitted to the restrictions of that charter.

A more formidable class of society was the Army. It had been the policy of Buonaparte to give a martial character to the whole population of France. He found that he could both stifle a love of liberty and of country, by inspiring, what was falsely called, a love of glory. In this he too fatally succeeded. The whole body of the people became gradually habituated to war. It was regarded as the shortest road to honour and to wealth. An army which had overrun and plundered the greater part of Europe, and in which the private soldier might hope to enrich himself and his family, and even to rise to the dignity of a marshal or a prince, had far greater allurements for the unthinking youth, than any of the sober

and harmless occupations of life. Millions were sacrificed at the shrine of ambition, but the principle of population adapted itself to the demand, and millions were ready and eager to follow.

The army had become, to a certain degree, alienated from Buonaparte. He was no longer the darling child of victory. He no longer enriched his followers with the plunder of the world, and he had been unfeelingly prodigal of their blood, in support of his falling ambition. His marshals and the troops renounced their allegiance to him, but they did not, they could not renounce their military feelings and habits.

The first error of Lewis respecting the army was the rejection of the national colours, and the substitution of the white flag. Although this had been the adopted colour of a long race of kings, yet he ought to have remembered Lewis XVI had changed it in the early and best period of the revolution, and that he had then eagerly and zealously copied the example of that virtuous monarch. To adopt the white flag was to insult the memory of his unfortunate brother, and to renounce the liberal and patriotic sentiments which himself had then professed to cherish. He ought likewise to have recollected that the white cockade had been the distinguishing mark of the Vendéans, and of all who, in every stage of the revolution, had fought against the liberties of their country. To mount this cockade was to identify

himself with them, and to declare to the world with what sentiments he regarded the contending parties. He should also have remembered the fond attachment and veneration which the soldiers felt for the colours under which they had fought and conquered. A change of a similar nature had nearly endangered to the English the empire of the East, and although the French troops silently submitted to the substitution, it long rankled in their breasts. Their old and worn-out cockades were carefully and religiously concealed in their knapsacks. They were often in secret contemplated with veneration and regret, and again eagerly produced at the arrival of Buonaparte.

Many of the friends of the king remonstrated with him on the subject. It is said that he wavered, and that he was even disposed to have adopted the tri-coloured flag, but the illiberal advice of the princes and favourites prevailed. Had he paid the army the compliment of relinquishing those colours which for many years had been borne against their country, their enthusiasm would have known no bounds, and it is doubtful whether Napoleon himself could have seduced them to betray their king. This error, afterwards productive of the most fatal consequences, was, for the present, overlooked, and the army at first displayed, and doubtless felt considerable respect and regard for their new sovereign.

The following proclamation, issued to the army

on the return of Lewis, contains many truths most eloquently and feelingly expressed, and made considerable impression.

“Soldiers,

“You no longer belong to Napoleon, but
“you will always belong to your country. Your
“first oath was to be faithful to her. That oath
“is irrevocable and sacred.

“The new constitution assures you your honours,
“your rank, and your pensions. The senate and
“the provisional government have recognized your
“rights. They are confident that you will not
“forget your duty. From this moment your
“fatigues and your sufferings terminate. Your
“glory remains entire. Peace will guarantee to
“you the reward of your labours.

“What was your fate under the government
“which is now no more? Dragged from the banks
“of the Tagus to those of the Danube, and from
“the Nile to the Dnieper; scorched in the burn-
“ing sands of the south, or frozen in the icy re-
“gions of the north, you contributed to erect a
“colossal grandeur, foreign to the true interests of
“France, and which, reversed from its very founda-
“tions, has crushed you, and the rest of the world
“with its enormous weight. How many thousand
“brave fellows have been the instruments, and
“the victims of a lawless and insatiable ambition!
“How many have died unknown, to augment the

“ fame of one man ! Victims of cold, famine, or
“ disease, they were deprived even of the consola-
“ tion of dying on the field of glory ; and their
“ families, while they fondly recall them to me-
“ mory, are unable to sooth their sorrows by
“ recounting the deeds of bravery which graced
“ their fall.

“ All is now changed. No longer will you perish
“ five hundred leagues from home, in a cause which
“ is not your own. Princes, Frenchmen-born, will
“ be sparing of your blood, for their blood is yours.
“ Their ancestors governed your ancestors. Time
“ has perpetuated between them and you a long
“ inheritance of pleasing recollections, mutual in-
“ terests, and reciprocal services. That ancient
“ race has produced many kings whom historians
“ have named the Fathers of their people. It has
“ given us Henry IV, whom the soldiers call the
“ Brave King, but whom the peasants will ever
“ venerate as the Good King.

“ To the descendants of these monarchs your
“ destiny is now committed. What can you fear?
“ While they were in a foreign land, they dwelt
“ with fond admiration on the prodigies of French
“ valour. They admired and they loved you, even
“ when their return was delayed by so many bril-
“ liant but useless exploits. These princes are
“ now among you. They have been unfortunate
“ like Henry IV, and they will reign like him.
“ They are not ignorant that the army composes

“ the most distinguished part of their great family,
“ and they will watch over your comforts and
“ your interest, as their best beloved children.

“ Some of you are young in age, but veterans in
“ glory. Their wounds have doubled their years.
“ They, if they please, may retire with honourable
“ recompences, and grow old in the place of their
“ nativity and the bosom of their family. Others
“ will continue to pursue the career of arms, with
“ all the hopes of advancement and reward which
“ their king can offer.

“ Soldiers of France ! let the sentiments of true
“ Frenchmen animate you. Return from foreign
“ and murderous and unjust wars to live with your
“ fathers, your brothers, your friends. Preserve
“ that bravery by which you have ever been dis-
“ tinguished, but let not ambition or the false love
“ of glory render it again the subject of inquietude
“ to Europe, fatal to France, and fatal to your-
“ selves.”

The first interviews between Lewis and the marshals were extremely affecting. When his majesty arrived at Compeigne, May 1, 1814, he thus addressed the marshals who surrounded him,
“ Gentlemen, I am happy to find myself among
“ you. I hope France will be fortunate enough
“ never again to need your talents. But should
“ unexpected dangers arise, I shall hasten, all gouty
“ as I am, to place myself in the midst of you.”

At dinner the king invited the marshals to his

own table, and placed them at his right hand. In the middle of the repast he filled a glass of wine, and exclaimed "Gentlemen, we will drink, if you please, to the army."

At the levee in the afternoon, the marshals were again placed on his right, and one of them (Berthier) addressing him in the name of his brethren in arms, concluded with these remarkable words :—"Already, Sire, the army is inspired
" with gratitude and veneration. I feel myself
" incompetent to describe the emotions with which
" they were penetrated, when they learned with
" what touching interest your majesty, forgetful
" of your own misfortunes, occupied yourself in
" alleviating the sufferings of the French pri-
" soners. 'It concerns not me' you said to the
" magnanimous Alexander, 'under what standard
" ' these one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners
" ' have served. They are unfortunate. They are
" ' my children.' In these memorable words, which
" the soldiers eagerly repeated to each other, who
" could fail of recognizing the true son of the great
" Henry who relieved the necessities of Paris while
" he besieged it! Like him, his illustrious descend-
" ant comes to unite all Frenchmen in one affection-
" ate family. Your armies, Sire, of whom your
" marshals are to day the organ, will esteem them-
" selves happy, if by their ardent devotion and
" fidelity they can contribute to the success of
" your generous efforts."

The king replied that it gave him the greatest pleasure to see himself thus surrounded by the marshals, and that he fully confided in the sentiments of affection and fidelity which they now expressed in the name of the French army. As he rose with difficulty from his seat to make them a respectful bow, some of his household approached to offer their assistance; but his Majesty, taking hold of the arms of those of the marshals who were nearest to him, exclaimed with unaffected feeling, "It is on you, marshals, that I must always lean. Approach and encircle me." On many of them this affecting scene made a deep and indelible impression.

It may be doubted whether too much court was not paid to these officers on the first arrival of Lewis. The flatteries which were heaped upon them by every member of the royal family were too marked and gross, and early betrayed the interested motives whence they flowed. And when, as the king felt himself firmly seated on his throne, every distinction was bestowed on them with a more sparing hand;—when the soldiers of Vendée and Coblenz usurped those places of honour or emolument, for which the warriors of Napoleon in vain pleaded their labours and their wounds;—when they, who were at first caressed, now stood unnoticed in the antichamber;—discontent and suspicion were excited in the minds of the military: the remembrance of their former chief, with whom

they had no rivals, was recalled : and the foundation was laid for their speedy disaffection. The king had not been restored by the military. The intentions of the marshals to uphold the dynasty of Napoleon had been artfully defeated by the representatives. The army had not submitted until the cause of their former master was desperate. They had then slowly and reluctantly tendered their allegiance. That a monarch had been forced upon them was a fruitful source of discontent. That monarch was surrounded by those against whom they had long fought ; whom they considered as the enemies of their country ; and whom they regarded with mingled contempt and aversion. The emigrant *noblesse*, and the soldiers of the revolution could not entertain any friendly sentiments for each other ; and the professions of gratitude and confidence which the court expressed, were too much strained long to deceive or conciliate.

It was evidently the policy of Lewis to adopt one of two courses, either sincerely to attach the military to him, or to dismiss them from his court, and deprive them of the power to injure him. He pursued neither the one nor the other, but, by receiving them at first with unexpected and undeserved kindness, and afterwards treating them with unmerited neglect, he neither secured their friendship, nor disarmed their power.

For some months the allegiance of the army ap-

peared to be sincere. But when it was evident that Lewis had determined strictly to maintain the peace which he had concluded with the allies, and that the conquest of Belgium was renounced, complaints and murmurs began to be heard. The soldier's occupation was gone. The hope of advancement, glory, and wealth, effectually destroyed. They who had been accustomed to the licentiousness of camps could acquire no relish for the blessings of peace, no capacity for the virtues of industry.

Many of the superior officers had amassed almost incalculable riches by the plunder of every surrounding nation ; but the inferior officers had been less fortunate. They were half-ruined by the reverses of Moscow and Dresden. They were utterly unable to support with credit the rank to which they had risen. All eagerly longed for war, some to augment the riches which they had acquired, and others to escape the evils of poverty*.

The morals of the army had been sadly deteriorated by the long continuance of war. Instead

* “ Very good, gentlemen !” said an officer whom the interesting but somewhat misanthropic tourist, Mr. Scott, met in a French diligence, to his fellow travellers who were congratulating each other, that the tranquillity of Europe would probably remain undisturbed ; “ very good, gentlemen ! this tranquillity “ of Europe is a fine thing, but will it not always keep me a “ captain ?”

of that noble ardour, whose legitimate object and highest aim was the defence and honour of his country, a mania for glory, a thirst for conquest, and a hatred of peace formed the characteristic of the French soldier, and almost of the French population. Carnot well describes this. “The youth
“ of the present day are educated with different
“ principles. The love of glory has struck deep
“ root in their minds. It is become the most distin-
“ guishing trait of the national character, intoxi-
“ cated by twenty-five years of constant success.
“ This glory had become the idol of our souls ;
“ it absorbed every thought of the veterans whose
“ honourable wounds no longer permitted them to
“ fight their country’s battles, and it formed the
“ only hope of the youthful warrior when he
“ entered on his first campaign. An unex-
“ pected blow has damped these recollections
“ and destroyed these hopes ; and we feel in
“ our hearts a melancholy void like the lover
“ who has lost for ever the object of his dearest
“ affections.

“ This sentiment renders our situation painful
“ and dangerous. Every one endeavours to con-
“ ceal the loss which he has sustained. He looks
“ on himself as dishonoured, because, after twenty
“ years of uninterrupted victory, he has lost one
“ stake, but that unfortunately was the stake of
“ honour.”

A writer, just referred to, gives an interesting

delineation of the appearance and character of the French at this critical period.

“ The most impressive feature of the crowd before us, and that which most struck us with a sense of novelty and of interest, was its military aspect. Almost every man had some indication of the military profession about his person, sufficient to denote that he had been engaged in war : at the same time there was a self-willed variety in the dress of each which had a very unpleasant effect, inasmuch as it prevented us from recognizing that stamped assurance of legitimacy as an armed force which is impressed on the aspect of British troops. We could scarcely imagine that the dark-visaged beings, some in long loose great coats, some in jackets, some in cocked hats, some in round ones, and some in caps, who darted at us keen looks of a very over-clouded cast, had ever belonged, to regiments steady, controlled and lawful ; they seemed rather the fragments of broken-up gangs, brave, dexterous, and fierce, but unprincipled and unrestrained. Much of this irregularity and angriness of appearance was doubtless occasioned by the great disbandment of the army that had just taken place. They had neither pursuits to occupy their time, nor even prospects to keep up their hopes. They still lounged about in idleness although their pay had been stopped ; and disappointment and

“ necessity threw into their faces an expression
“ deeper than that of irritation ; approaching, in
“ fact, to the indication of indiscriminate and
“ inveterate hatred. They carried about with
“ them in their air, the branded characteristics of
“ forlorn men, whose interests and habits opposed
“ them to the peace of mankind ;—men who would
“ cry with the desperate Constance,
“ War ! war ! no peace ! peace to me is war !* ”

The discontent of the army was at first confined to secret murmurs and complaints, but a circumstance soon occurred which fanned the embers of disaffection into a flame. In compliance with the custom of his ancestors, and of every sovereign prince, Lewis formed a body of household troops for the immediate guard of his person. They were not selected from the army, but consisted of volunteers. None were excluded, but, as was naturally to be expected, the greater part were composed of young men whose families had long been attached to the royal cause. One half of the officers were chosen from those who had served Buonaparte, and the others from the long tried companions of the monarch's adversity.

Could any thing be more equitable and delicate than this arrangement ? Ought the king to have selected his household troops exclusively from the

* Scott's Visit to Paris in 1814, page 17.

army ? Would it not have been unreasonable to have required him to confide the guard of his person to those of whose fidelity he had no proof, and who had always fought against him ? Was not the plan which he adopted the most unobjectionable way of providing for those who had lost their patrimony in the defence of his cause, and who now reasonably and anxiously looked to him for protection and support ? He could not restore to them the possessions of their ancestors. These were in other hands and the national property was guaranteed. He could not reward them from the public treasury. The claimants were too numerous and the funds were exhausted. By giving them commissions in this department of his service, he rewarded their fidelity without rendering them burdensome to their country. Had the former adherents of Napoleon possessed one sentiment of justice they would have acknowledged the propriety of the arrangement, and have been grateful that they were admitted to an equal share of the honours and emoluments of the corps.

If Lewis erred it was in forming so small a body of household troops. They consisted of only two thousand men ; and while their composition excited the jealousy of the rest of the army, they were too few in number to be any check upon it, or to be of real service to the king. Instead of two thousand he should have embodied a corps of twenty thousand

men, and have employed every possible means gradually and prudently to diminish the number and influence of the army. He would thus have ensured the public tranquillity, and the enterprise of Buonaparte would never have succeeded, and probably would not have been attempted. But it was the false and destructive policy of the ministry to maintain a formidable and imposing army, that some effect might be produced on the deliberations of the congress at Vienna. Little did they reflect on the character of that army, demoralized by the long continuance of war, panting for the renewal of slaughter and plunder, and careless of the means by which this might be accomplished.

The return of the prisoners from Russia and England increased the general discontent. One hundred and fifty thousand men, “without employment and without bread, and with all the habits of idleness and depravity which a long detention in prison never fails to produce,” were thrown back on France. Although they were the victims of an unnecessary and atrocious war, yet in war alone they possessed the means of indulging their profligacy and vice, and even of supporting their existence. They therefore united with the regular troops in eager and importunate demands again to be conducted on the path of glory.

Had not the licentiousness of the camp extinguished in their bosoms every spark of honour

and gratitude, they would have esteemed it their happiness and their pride, to have shewn, in every possible way, their attachment to the royal cause. They had fought for the usurper, and had by him been unfeelingly abandoned. Their chains had been loosed by the king. They had borne arms against their legitimate monarch, and to him they were indebted for their return to their beloved country*. His paternal solicitude had anticipated all their wants. No sooner had they set foot on the French soil, than they were liberally supplied with money to enable them to rejoin their standards, or to return to the bosom of their families.

Many of the officers who returned from Russia had suffered considerable losses, and demanded some indemnity. The majority had not received any pay during several years. The arrears were enormous. The claimants were innumerable. It

* The following is an extract from an affecting letter written by Lewis XVIII in his own hand to the emperor of Russia.

“ The fate of arms has caused more than one hundred and fifty
“ thousand prisoners to fall into the hands of your Imperial Ma-
“ jesty. Most of them are French. It matters not under what ban-
“ ners they have fought. They are unfortunate; they are my chil-
“ dren. I recommend them to the benevolent regard of your Im-
“ perial Majesty; and entreat you to consider how much many of
“ them have already suffered, and to soften the rigour of their fate.
“ Let them learn that their conqueror is the friend of their
“ father. Your Majesty cannot give me a more touching proof
“ of your friendship for me.—Feb. 14, 1814.

was necessary to create a commission to examine and to regulate the claims of each. This occasioned some delay, and that delay produced the loudest, but the most unreasonable discontent. They had been long abandoned in an enemy's country, without pay and without succour, and they were now indignant, because a few weeks had elapsed and their claims were not satisfied. Many of them presumed to penetrate to the very foot of the throne, and, in the most insolent language, demanded of the king the recompence of those services which they had rendered the usurper.

Another event converted their complaints and remonstrances into actual rebellion. The extravagance of the former government had left the finances in a state of utter confusion and exhaustion. That part of France which had been the theatre of the last campaign, was unable to contribute its quota to supply the exigencies of the state. Retrenchments were absolutely necessary. While the household establishment of the king was conducted on the most rigorous principle of economy, and every part of the administration cheerfully submitted to its share of privations, the army could not expect to be exempt. Several of the regiments were disbanded, and all the supernumerary officers placed on half-pay.

Nothing was more equitable than this, and nothing more consistent with the usage of every

government. When a country no longer requires the active exertions of its soldiers, this useful class of the community is certainly entitled to some remuneration for past services, and for having embraced a profession which necessarily excludes them from many of the occupations of life: but they cannot justly demand the same stipend, as when they are called to the post of duty, and expose their lives to hazard.

The French army, however, unreasonably thought itself ill-treated by this measure. Lewis had promised that all the officers should retain their respective ranks. They falsely alleged that this promise was broken, when they were deprived of part of the emoluments formerly connected with their respective situations.

Their case was undoubtedly hard. In their predatory incursions into every neighbouring country, they had been accustomed to add considerably to the income which they derived from their commissions, and they severely felt the defalcation, when, at peace with the world, they were compelled to live on their simple pay: but when even half of this was taken away, they were not only no longer able to support their habitual extravagance, but even decently to maintain that situation in society to which their rank entitled them. That they should be disappointed and displeased was natural; but this should have entered into their previous calculations. They had no reason

to charge the government with injustice, and should have traced their sufferings to the right cause,—the insatiable ambition and boundless extravagance of their former sovereign. But they were previously ripe for rebellion. They were almost anxious for some pretext to renounce their allegiance ; and would readily have followed any leader who would have flattered them with the hope of victory and plunder.

The Court of Lewis was divided into two parties. The first comprised the majority of his ostensible ministers, who were attached to the constitution, and saw, in a strict adherence to it, the true honour and only security of the monarchy. To this party the king inclined. He had sworn to be faithful to the charter, and his ambition would have been amply gratified if he possessed the affections, and contributed to the prosperity of a free and happy people.

Most of the princes of his house, and his old and confidential advisers formed a second party. They beheld with jealousy every concession in favour of liberty, and ardently wished for the return of the ancient *regime*. The re-establishment of the former arbitrary government was the object of their daily wishes and nightly dreams ; and too many of the acts to which they gained the royal consent had an evident tendency to accomplish this object. They constantly surrounded the king ; they possessed a thousand opportunities

of indirectly, yet powerfully influencing his mind and guiding his decisions; and to this perpetual struggle between the honest intentions of the monarch, the wise and prudent advice of his more enlightened counsellors, and the illiberal suggestions and arbitrary principles of his family and favourites those strange inconsistencies of his administration are to be attributed, which were naturally, yet unjustly suspected to indicate the latent design to break from the trammels of the constitution as soon as time and opportunity should serve.

Never had monarch a more difficult part to act. He owed his throne simply to the efforts of the allies; and no sooner was he seated on it, than they withdrew to their respective countries, and left him surrounded by, and at the mercy of the very army which had fought so obstinately against him, and only submitted when further resistance would have been fruitless; while the few friends whom he brought with him, could render him little assistance or protection, and were regarded with an evil and jealous eye.

Could the extraordinary revolution which soon followed have been prevented? Could all these causes of dissension and dissatisfaction have been removed, or their effects neutralized?

This is a difficult question. Lewis was certainly placed in circumstances most perplexing and embarrassing. The restless spirit of a

soldiery accustomed to combat and to victory, and indignant at inactivity and defeat,—the dissatisfaction of the officers who were no longer able to support their former extravagance,—the ambition of the generals whose companions were covered with honorary decorations, and some of whom now swayed the sceptre of extensive kingdoms,—the contempt which a victorious army soon imbibes for an unwarlike sovereign,—the mania for conquest and military glory which pervaded every class of society,—the suspicion with which the landed proprietors regarded the return of those in whose possessions they now rioted,—the envy and hatred with which the *noblesse* contemplated the persons by whom they had been despoiled and expatriated,—the love of liberty which animated every political party,—the leaning to the old *regime*, which the monarch felt, and the ill-concealed arbitrary principles of his family and courtiers, these constituted a source of danger against which no human foresight could devise a perfect security.

The most adviseable plan would have been to have created, in the first moment of enthusiasm, a formidable body of household troops, and then gradually and slowly to disband the legions of Buonaparte; unless Lewis had ventured on the bold and hazardous experiment of immediately disbanding the old troops, and completely reorganizing the army. It is said that the king

was earnestly entreated to adopt this latter plan, and it perhaps might have been effected while all the national guards of France were in arms, and the country was occupied by the troops of the allies. The regiments, separated from each other, could have offered no resistance. A new army would have been speedily formed, composed of the better part of the old one, and many of the national guards. These might have been commanded by the least objectionable of the officers of Buonaparte, mingled with a sufficient number of those who had fought in the royal cause: and the officers who were not employed might have retained their rank, and perhaps their full pay. While the allies remained in France, no resistance could have been offered to a plan like this; and had Lewis cheerfully accepted the charter, and shewn himself determined to adhere to it strictly, his mild and paternal government would gradually have conciliated all parties. But Lewis conceived himself too deeply pledged with the marshals, and had not sufficient political courage to carry into execution a project so daring. This, however, is mere speculation and foreign to the province of the historian. One thing only is evident, that while the army which had served Buonaparte, and which had imbibed all his ambition and profligacy, was suffered to remain unchecked and unawed by any efficient force, no prudence could maintain the throne of the Bourbons. Not

even the virtues of Lewis could afford him effectual security. Not even his pure intentions and disinterested patriotic views could long avert the blow.

He was unfortunate in the choice of his ministers, or, rather, the peculiarity of his situation deprived him of those honest and skilful men whose counsel and assistance alone could extricate him from the difficulties by which he was environed. From what party could he select his ministry? Did he look to the companions of his exile?—They were strangers to the laws, the manners, and the new ideas of the French. Their favourite maxims of policy were ill-suited to the character of the times. They had much to learn and much to forget, ere they could accommodate themselves to the prejudices and feelings of the present race of Frenchmen.

Did he direct his views to those who had been the agents of Napoleon? He had reason to fear that they could not divest themselves of their attachment to their old master. Or did they at once transfer all their affection and fidelity to the king, that very versatility would weaken or destroy the confidence which he ought to bestow on the accredited ministers of his government.

Did he recur to the republicans or constitutionalists? An invincible reluctance to ally himself with those who had been instrumental in the death of his brother precluded all connexion with them.

He made the best choice which circumstances would permit, but a choice which was fatal to the stability of his reign.

If the monarch had been imprudent in rejecting the crown as the gift his people,—if he could not at first reconcile himself to the men who had murdered his brother, and condemned himself to an exile of more than twenty years,—if he had called around his court too great a proportion of those whose fidelity had undergone the fiery ordeal of adversity,—and if he could not assume enough of the unfeelingness of the politician to suppress his gratitude, and to delay an act of justice towards those who had shared in all his sufferings ; yet he had given sufficient pledges that he was determined to assume the character, and merit the praise of a patriot king. His bitterest enemies cannot deny that, under his short administration, France enjoyed more real liberty than during any period of her whole history. Although he had every opportunity of gratifying his revenge, and was urged to the gratification by those who had more zeal than prudence, not one arbitrary imprisonment disgraced his reign. Neither the person nor the property of a single individual was violated.

He was dethroned because his character was not suited to the times ;—because he had not sufficient firmness always to reject the impolitic counsels of his favourites, and too much virtue

to yield to the profligate wishes of his people. Had he forgotten his professions, and done violence to his conscience ;—had he adopted the unprincipled schemes of his predecessor, and pursued his career of lawless ambition, he might have reigned the idol of the French, and the terror of Europe.

CHAPTER II.

Connexion of Buonaparte with the Conspiracy ;—His residence at Elba.—Progress of the Conspiracy.—Correspondence first opened with Buonaparte.—Impolicy of placing him at Elba.—Negligence of the Ministers.

THE conspiracy which terminated in the flight of Lewis was not formed for the sake of Buonaparte. They who were loudest in their expressions of dissatisfaction, aimed not at the restoration of the Corsican. In the early stage of the discontents he was not even thought of, and had he been further removed from the scene of action he would have been soon forgotten.

His personal friends were very few. Even in the army he would have become an object of indifference, if not of aversion. He was beloved only by a few of his officers whom he most favoured ; the others were afterwards attached to his cause by their love of war and plunder, and their respect for his military talents. They would have followed with almost equal alacrity any leader who would have given them as fair a pro-

mise of the gratification of their favourite propensities.

The republicans and the constitutionalists regarded him with mingled aversion and dread. Fouché, who must have been intimately acquainted with the feelings and views of all parties has truly said *, “ It was not from attachment to
“ Buonaparte, it was still less from fidelity to his
“ cause, that in the month of March a part of
“ France was seen to associate themselves with his
“ destinies. He owed his success entirely to our
“ discords, which made him to be regarded by
“ some as a liberator, and by others as an instru-
“ ment: and this instrument gave us much more
“ reason for fear than for hope.”

In another paper addressed to the ministers of the allied powers after the second abdication of Napoleon, he says, “ Why should the truth be now
“ concealed? An imprudent and overwhelming
“ zeal for the rules and maxims of the ancient
“ monarchy led to the commission of many faults.
“ Alarms of more than one description were the
“ result, as well as a fluctuation of opinion,
“ and a disaffection towards the government.
“ This moral opposition, which was known to
“ the whole of Europe, did not escape the cal-
“ culations of Buonaparte; and he had no need

* Fouché's second Memorial.

“ of any other invitation to throw himself into the
“ midst of this discontent, and these elements of
“ discord.”

A small party, however, was sincerely attached to his interests. They principally consisted of those who owed to him their wealth and political consequence, and who were reduced to insignificance and comparative poverty by his abdication,—some functionaries whom the king had imprudently deprived of those emoluments which they had enjoyed during twenty years, and to which they were entitled neither by their talents nor their virtues,—soldiers who languished with ennui and who, in his return, saw the only prospect of employment, promotion and wealth,—comedians whose consciences accused them of having been priests, and whom the new court treated with the contempt that they deserved,—women whose inconstancy three divorces had not been able to fix, and who sought in a fourth solemnity a new adultery,—scholars who had been crowned at the Lyceum or the Academy, but whose literary talents would not now excuse their debauchery and vice. But what they wanted in numbers, influence and power was amply compensated by diligence and zeal.

Some months passed before they dared to encourage the hope that it was possible to restore their patron and idol, and before they appear to

have meditated any project to accomplish this atrocious purpose.

Buonaparte had retired to the island of Elba. The reluctance with which he followed the commissioners, and the tears in which he was always surprised when for a moment he had been left alone, shewed that he considered it as no temporary retreat; and that he regarded his political life as really terminated. One expression escaped from him before he embarked. "Had Marius perished in the marshes of Manturnum, he would not have attained his seventh consulate." But this probably is not to be regarded as an indication of his real purposes, but of those vague wishes which he could not immediately resign.

Astounded by the blow which had precipitated him from the first throne of the civilized world to a barren rock and a people nearly savage, his wild and lawless ambition had received a salutary check, and the Prince of Elba was constrained to regard the former Emperor of the French as a mere historical personage. But to suppose that he would always rest content with his new destination, was to conclude that that unrestrained imagination which had embodied the most gigantic projects, and had converted every obstacle into the means of facilitating their execution, was extinct and dead. The progress of events rekindled the smothered fire, and the errors of his enemies, and the inexhaustable resources of his own genius,

too soon supplied him with the means of again disturbing the peace of Europe.

He had no sooner arrived at his new sovereignty, than all the energies of his mind appear to have been directed to complete the fortifications of his capital, to add to its embellishments, and to improve the agriculture and resources of the island.

A French writer, in a work entitled "A Year of the Life of the Emperor Napoleon," gives a curious account of the manner in which he employed his time. Some allowance must be made for the exaggerations of a professed eulogist, but the picture is perhaps tolerably correct.

"The days of the Emperor passed away in the
"most pleasant occupations. All his hours were
"filled up. That indefatigable activity, which
"in other times he applied to the vastest con-
"ceptions of genius, he employed in the island
"of Elba in studying the embellishment of the re-
"treat which he had chosen. In the morning he
"shut himself up in his library. He often rose be-
"fore day, and employed himself for three hours,
"till seven or eight o'clock. He then took some re-
"pose; he went out and visited all the works:
"he spent much time in the middle of his work-
"men, who reckoned among them many soldiers of
"the guard. Two Italian architects traced, accord-
"ing to his orders, plans of buildings upon which
"he had determined."

Whatever was the state of the weather, his Majesty went to his country house of Saint Martin, in the environs of Porto-Ferrajo. There, as in the city, the Emperor was occupied with the interior management of his house, requiring an exact account of every thing, and entering into the smallest details of domestic and rural economy.

Often after breakfast he reviewed his little army. He required the greatest regularity in their exercises and manœuvres, and caused the strictest discipline to be observed.

After the review he mounted his horse for his morning rides. Among his principal officers and attendants were Marshal Bertrand and General Drouet, who scarcely ever quitted him. On his way, his majesty gave audience to all those whom he met. He listened to every complaint, and never left any person with just cause for dissatisfaction. He then returned to dinner. All who were admitted to his table were treated with the most perfect kindness and cordiality. The Emperor appeared to have discovered the secret, without losing any of his dignity, of becoming a simple individual among individuals; and the conversation had all the liberty and all the careless freedom which could be enjoyed in the most intimate society. The evenings were dedicated to family parties.

When the Emperor received the visit of any stranger, which frequently happened, he enter-

tained him with grace and familiarity*. He conversed with philosophers and *savans*, of the Institute, of the Royal Academy of London, and of

* The following interesting conversation is recorded by a gentleman who visited him in December, 1814.

“ I found him standing by the fire, dressed in a very shabby uniform, with the Grand Cordon of the legion of Honour. On being introduced to him, he bluntly asked me with a sharp piercing voice, ‘ Where did you come from ? ’ ‘ From France, sire. ’ His tone and manner were immediately changed. With the utmost affability he asked, ‘ What do they say of me in France ? Speak freely. ’ ‘ The great mass of the people is decidedly attached to the Bourbons, but many remember you with affection, particularly the army. ’

He then began his own history, and went through it from his first signaling himself at Toulon to his campaign in Egypt, on which he enlarged with much complacency. I ventured to ask him whether he had authorized the massacre at Jaffa. He acknowledged that he had ; but vindicated his conduct on the score of the previous treachery of those very Turks, who had been released on parole, and who had again been taken in arms against him. He said that he had only ten thousand men with him, and that he could neither retain the prisoners, nor, without the certainty of his own destruction, dismiss them, as they would again have fought against him ; and that he was therefore compelled to order all who were taken at Jaffa to be shot. ‘ I do repent the action,’ he added, ‘ for in war whatever is expedient and useful is lawful. ’

I then questioned him with regard to his poisoning the sick. He said that it was partly true and partly false. On the eve of a forced march some of his soldiers were reported to be dying of the plague. He sent for Desjounettes, the head of the medical staff, and asked him if there was the smallest chance of their

the recent discoveries in natural philosophy, chemistry, galvanism, and electricity. He congratulated the rich English land-holders on the

surviving. He was told there was none. 'Can they be moved with the army?' 'They will infect the rest of your troops, sir.' 'Then treat them as I should wish you to treat me in similar circumstances;—give them a dose of opium.' Desjournettes started with horror and answered, 'Never, sir. My office is to cure and not to kill,'—and I acknowledged that he was right, and the men were left behind, but were not poisoned. From Egypt,' he said, 'I returned to Paris where I lived for some time in private. One day I saw in the paper a decree of the convention, naming Buonaparte commander-in-chief of the army. I bought the paper, and gave three-pence for it, not having the least idea it referred to myself. I went to a coffee-house and began to inquire who this Buonaparte was, saying, that I was not aware of having a namesake so lucky. No one knew. I walked down to where the convention sat. The doors of the house were crowded. I was soon recognized, and saluted with the shout, "Buonaparte our little general for ever." I now found a vacant throne, and no one ready to fill it. I seized on it. Was I wrong? I am satisfied with what I have done, and have the consolation to know that I have increased, rather than diminished the happiness of France.

He then began about the Bourbons. 'Lewis XVIII is a good man; he has some talent; does he apply much?' 'Six hours a day.' 'Much may be done in six hours. Monsieur has the manners of a gentleman, but he has no application. The dukes of Angouleme and Berri are no great things;—they are mere nothings.' He seemed to know little of the duke of Orleans, and when informed that he possessed superior talents, application and decision, he expressed considerable surprise and much emotion. He then spoke of the emperor Alexander. 'He is a mere shuttlecock, and yet you have no idea

progress of their agriculture, and the liberality of their country's laws: and he talked with the military of the historical memoirs which he was writing of his campaign.

Lord Bentinck, Lord Douglas, and a great num-

how artful he is. The king of Prussia is a good man. He thinks himself very wise, but in reality he is exceedingly weak, yet he is a good man notwithstanding that.' He next spoke of Talleyrand with the utmost asperity, and maliciously attributed to him crimes of which he was never guilty. He professed himself friendly to universal toleration;—had favoured the Jews partly on principle;—had built churches for all sects;—blamed the restrictions on Roman Catholics in England as unworthy a great nation;—declared that he had murdered neither Wright nor Pichegru.—'In good faith,' said he, 'they were in prison, and there they died. Pichegru was without talent, without head.—Moreau had almost made me repent of my clemency towards him; but no! I would not have injured his life. But I have been too merciful.—This has been my ruin. Had I spilled more blood, I might yet have filled the throne of France.'

In another conversation a visitor said, 'Your majesty has been much reproached on the subject of Moscow.' 'You are right, I committed a great error there.' 'What object had you in view in the conquest of Moscow?'—'To become master of the continent.' 'And what then?' 'To compel your nation to be just. Whither are you going?' 'To Naples.' 'You will see Murat there. That man has no head. He has not one military idea, except on the field of battle. When he has received his orders, he piques himself on performing them. He is a god until five o'clock at night. What will become of him? You will pass by Rome. The Pope is an obstinate old monk.'

ber of other English lords were admitted, courted, and frequently treated with fêtes by his majesty. All carried back with them the most interesting recollections of the reception with which they had met.

One of them accompanied his Majesty, as according to his usual custom he visited on foot the works of Porto-Ferrajo. The Emperor met the grand marshal who was coming from the port, and going towards the palace with papers under his arm. 'Are they French journals?' 'Yes, Sire.' 'Am I well cut up?' 'No, sire, there is no mention of your Majesty to-day.' 'Come, we shall have it to-morrow. It is an intermitting fever; but the fits will pass away.'

The Emperor amused himself with discoursing with his grenadiers. Like all old soldiers, they appeared never to be perfectly contented; and by one of those expressions which shew to the soldier the affection which his leader feels, better than the finest phrases, he called them *his grumblers*.

One day, towards the close of January, 'Well, grumbler,' said he to one of them, 'you are melancholy.' 'No, Sire, but I am not always too much amused.' 'You are wrong, you must take time as it comes; and get rid of it by jingling your money in your pocket, and singing within your teeth, 'This will not last for ever.'

The number of works begun and finished in

the space of ten months is inconceivable. The palace of the Emperor at Porto-Ferrajo was situated on a rock, between ports Falcone and Etoile, on the Moulins bastion. On his arrival it consisted of two principal wings which served for lodgings to the superior officers of engineers and artillery. The emperor caused the interior of these wings to be decorated, and the centre building which united them to be raised. He drew the plans himself, dictated the internal arrangements, and superintended the details, even the shape of the ornaments of a superb room which occupied the whole of the middle. From the windows he had a complete view of the whole country. He saw all that was passing in the town, and no vessel, however small, could enter the port without his perceiving it. This room formed one of the apartments destined for the Princess Pauline on the first story. His majesty occupied the ground-floor. Madame Mother had a small private house in the town.'

Another writer says, that 'Napoleon had no sooner arrived at his new domains, than he circumscribed his wishes and his genius within their narrow boundaries, and appeared to forget that he had reigned over Europe. He was wholly occupied in the administration of his little kingdom. Palaces were built, roads were commenced, waste and barren grounds were brought

under tillage, and every spot which would not yield the food of man was made to contribute to his convenience, and covered with plantations. Numerous mines were explored, and riches, before unknown, and almost incredible were discovered. Industry extended its operations; commerce multiplied her relations, and in agriculture new and improved modes of cultivation superseded those which were old and imperfect. Comfort, and even a certain degree of luxury were every where visible; and in less than six months the island, animated by the presence, and vivified by the munificence of its sovereign, presented a picture of prosperity. Employed during the day in the speculations of his cabinet, and the active details of administration, he unbent his mind at evening in the familiar circle of his little court. There, like Dioclesian at Salonica, he forgot his grandeur amidst the substantial pleasures which mediocrity afforded, and consoled himself for the ingratitude of men by active and unwearied benevolence.'

It may be said that all this was the effect of the deepest policy. That it was of importance for him to lull every suspicion, and that, under this specious appearance, he was gradually maturing the daring project which he afterwards accomplished. It is asked in reply, Why was not the mask longer worn, and why was it thrown off

at the moment when disguise was most necessary?

It is notorious that about the beginning of autumn a marked change was visible in his manners and habits. He had until that period shewn an apparent resignation to his fate. His discourse was rational, and his conduct consistent. He likewise evinced the greatest predilection for the constant presence and society of Sir Neil Campbell, the British accredited agent at Elba. It seemed as if he had nothing to conceal, and courted the strictest scrutiny into his most private life. He now received a visit from some of his family and friends who had just left Paris. What passed at the interview is unknown; but from that hour he became restless and dissatisfied. He shunned the company of the British officer. He secluded himself from almost all society. He often spent seven or eight successive hours in his closet, and no one dared to intrude on his retirement; or he wandered on the shore with folded arms, and unequal and often agitated step. The improvements of the capital, and the embellishments of the island were neglected, and almost forgotten. Is it not probable that he then received the first intelligence of the discontents which prevailed through the whole of France; that his slumbering passions were immediately awakened, and that the conspiracy to effect his restoration commenced?

The personal friends of Buonaparte were few; and during a considerable time they studiously concealed their connexion with him. They mingled with the discontented. They magnified every cause of suspicion and alarm. They spread the most injurious reports of the treacherous intentions of the court, and they were soon supplied with too many plausible grounds of complaint.

Monsieur, previous to the arrival of his brother, had, with more good intention than wisdom, hastily proclaimed the abolition of the *droits reunis* (the consolidated excise duties), a tax which was peculiarly obnoxious to the people. This pledge, so solemnly but incautiously given, made great impression on all the commercial towns, and contributed more than any thing to the popularity of the royal cause. It was, however, soon discovered, that the finances were in so disordered a state, that it was impossible for the government to exist without this tax, and Lewis was compelled to continue a burden, which Monsieur had neither right nor authority to abolish. This was immediately represented as a flagrant instance of perfidy and oppression.

The revolution had weakened and almost destroyed a reverence for religion in every class of society. The priesthood were universally despised and ridiculed. With Lewis returned a crowd of ecclesiastics who brought back with them that superstitious, but conscientious re-

gard for the ceremonies of religious worship, which would have suited the character of the people twenty-five years before, but which would now inevitably displease and disgust. The illiberality and bigotry of one of them produced the most mischievous effect.

Mademoiselle Raucour, a celebrated actress of the Theatre Franois, and a woman of respectable character, died at the age of sixty. Her corpse, attended by a train of carriages, and a large concourse of people of all ranks and descriptions, was brought for interment to the church of St. Roque. By the rigorous ordinances of the Romish worship, actors and actresses are in a state of excommunication. This, if strictly enforced, deprived them of the benefits of Christian burial.

Many years had passed since this barbarous exclusion had been practised; and, certainly, the attendants on the remains of this performer were little prepared for the disappointment which awaited them, when they found the gates of the church locked against them, and admission peremptorily refused. The dismay of the spectators was succeeded by universal indignation. An immense crowd began to assemble, and cries of fury and vengeance were heard in all the adjoining quarters of Paris. The Rue St. Honore, and every avenue within a quarter of a mile of the scene, were blocked up by the populace.

The church doors were broken open, but no

priest appeared, and the most frightful disturbance was apprehended ; nor was it supposed that the effects of the popular agitation would end with the cause which had produced it.

In the mean time a message was sent to the king, supplicating his majesty's interposition, for the sake of humanity and for the public peace of the capital. An answer was immediately returned from the palace that the affair belonged to the jurisdiction of the church, and that the king could not intermeddle with the spiritual authorities.

The tumult increased, and the danger of some movement approaching to insurrection became every moment more visible, when a second deputation proceeded to the Thuilleries. At the same time a declaration was communicated to the court, on the part of all the actors, actresses, and attendants on every theatre in Paris, that if the remains of Mademoiselle Raucour were not instantly admitted to the privileges of Christian sepulture, they would in a body read their recantation, and adopt the Lutheran, or Calvinistic faith.

The second message succeeded better than the first, and brought back an order from the king to the clergyman, to receive the corpse and read the funeral service. This was accepted by the multitude as a pledge of peace : long, loud, and reiterated shouts broke from more than twenty thousand people, "*Vive le Roi—à bas les Ca-*

lottes—à bas les Calotins—au diable les Calotins ?”

The ceremony was then performed, but with “maimed rites.”

The troops, instead of quelling the tumult, manifested a disposition to support the people. They were ordered not to permit more than a certain number of the followers of the funeral into the church, but they gave free admission to all. The church was crowded. The tapers which had been prepared for an ensuing festival were lighted up, and the performers of the opera and the principal theatres, sung a solemn anthem on the occasion *.

* An interesting narrative from the pen of Helen Maria Williams, gives a very different and more pleasing view of the spirit of some of the French clergy.

Lewis XVIII, while he adheres with steadfast attachment to that religion in which he so long found the solace of his misfortunes, and of which the consolations blunt the thorns that surround his diadem,—Lewis XVIII has never violated the sacred principle of toleration. In testimony of the truth of this assertion I shall mention the circumstances which took place last winter at an interment some leagues distant from Paris, and at which the president of the Protestant church was invited to officiate.

The defunct was a titled English Protestant. The bishop of the diocese had ordered that all due honours should be rendered to the piety and good works of the deceased. The funeral sermon was preached by the Protestant president, in the pulpit of a Catholic church, to a numerous Catholic auditory, the Catholic clergy attending the service. The corpse was laid in the tomb with mingled rites; the lighted

The conspirators did not fail to represent this as the commencement of the reign of superstition and bigotry. It was asserted that fanaticism had obtained a powerful influence in the councils of the sovereign, and would rapidly bring back all the burdens of the priesthood, without the blessings of religion. These calumnies were too easily credited and made an indelible and fatal impression.

The institution of a perpetual mass for the soul of Lewis XVI was an excusable and interesting proof of fraternal affection, but it imprudently excited many recollections which ought to have been buried in oblivion.

The day on which the unfortuate monarch and his queen were removed to the cathedral of St. Denis was ordered to be kept as a solemn fast throughout France. The military in every town were required to attend the public mass. They obeyed the mandate, but in almost every place they disturbed the solemnity of the rites, and

tapers and the Catholic dirge, the prayers of the Genevan church, and the tears of the mourning peasantry. You have heard of the object of this blended ceremonial. She was an English lady of some renown about the middle of the last century. Her misfortunes and her errors (for which the tears that were shed by the poor over her grave are a proof she atoned) have been recorded by the celebrated Junius under the name of Miss Ann, or Nancy Parsons.

MISS WILLIAMS' PRESENT STATE OF FRANCE, p. 136.

appeared disposed for open mutiny. The ceremony was regarded as a kind of punishment inflicted on all who were concerned in the deed, or connected with the parties of that day; and it served no purpose but to confirm the suspicions already entertained of the superstition and bigotry of the court, and to awaken many disagreeable feelings in the minds of those who wished to have forgotten the errors and crimes of the revolution, and were sincerely disposed to rally round the constitutional throne of Lewis*.

* Although it is foreign to the subject of the present history, the reader will not be displeased with the following interesting account of the disinterment of the remains of Lewis XVI and his queen; it is extracted from the *Moniteur* of Jan. 21st, 1815. First is the declaration on oath of the late vicar of the church of the Magdalen.

‘ On the 21st of January, 1793, the members of the department and the commune informed me, that the orders they had received required them not to lose sight of the body of his majesty. We were, therefore, obliged to accompany them to the cemetery. On our arrival there, I caused silence to be kept. The body of his majesty was presented to us. It was clothed in a white waistcoat, with breeches of grey silk, and stockings of the same colour. We (M. Damoreau and myself) sung the vespers, and recited all the usual prayers for the burial of the dead; and I can say with truth, that the very same populace, who had lately made the air resound with their vociferations, listened to the prayers for the soul of his majesty in solemn silence. Before the body was let down into the grave, which was about ten feet distant from the wall of the churchyard, a layer of quicklime was thrown into the grave by order of the

Another measure of the government proceeded from the most praiseworthy motive, but did much injury to the royal cause. In every Christian country it had been the custom (a custom sanc-

executive. The corpse was then covered with a similar layer of quicklime, and next a quantity of earth was thrown in, and the whole beaten down several times. We retired in silence after this too painful ceremony ; and as far as I can recollect, a minute of the whole was drawn up by the justice of peace, which was signed by the two members of the department, and the two of the commune. On returning to the church, I entered the burial in a register, which was afterwards carried off by the members of the revolutionary committee, when the church was shut up.'

Then follows an account of the disinterment.

' After having, by means of some workmen one of whom was present at the queen's interment, opened the ground to an extent of ten feet in length by five or six in breadth, and to the depth of about five feet, we came to a layer of lime from ten to eleven inches in thickness, which we caused to be carefully removed, and under which we found a very distinct impression of a coffin, of about five feet and a half or thereabouts in length, which impression was traced out amidst a thick layer of lime, and along which there were found various fragments of plank still untouched. We found within this outline, formed by the coffin, a great number of bones which we carefully collected ; some, however, were wanting, which doubtless had been reduced to dust : but we found the head entire, and the position in which it was placed shewed incontestably that it had been detached from the trunk. We also found some fragments of clothing,—in particular two elastic garters in tolerable preservation, which we have brought away that they may be given to his majesty, as well as two fragments of the coffin. We then respectfully placed the remains in a box which we brought with us, in order to their being deposited in the leaden coffin which

tioned by the approbation of every virtuous and enlightened legislator) to devote certain periods to religious instruction and the worship of the Great Supreme. In France the first day of the

we have ordered. We also separated and placed in another box the earth and lime found with the bones, and which are to be deposited in the same coffin. This operation finished, we caused the spot to be covered with strong planks, and proceeded to search for the remains of Lewis XVI.

“ The workmen opened in our presence a trench of seven feet deep, a little below the tomb of the queen, and nearer the wall on the side of the street d’Anjou. We discovered some earth mixed with lime, and some small fragments of boards indicative of a wooden coffin. We ordered them to continue to dig with more caution : but instead of finding a bed of pure lime, as round the coffin of the queen, we perceived that the earth and the lime had been designedly mingled, in such a manner, however, that the lime greatly predominated in the mixture, but had not the same consistence as that found in yesterday’s operation. In the middle of this lime and of this earth, we discovered the bones of a human body, most of which, being thoroughly corroded, were ready to fall to dust. The head was covered with lime, and it was found placed betwixt two leg bones, a circumstance which appeared to us the more remarkable, as this had been pointed out as the situation of the head of Louis XVI in the information which we had received on the 22d of last May.

“ We searched carefully for the remains of any trace of clothing, without being able to discover any ; no doubt because the quantity of lime being much more considerable, had produced a greater effect. We collected all the relics which we could perceive in this confused mass of earth and lime, and placed them together in a large sheet prepared for the purpose, as also many pieces of the lime yet entire.

“ We enclosed them with respect in a large box, which we

week was still professedly devoted to this purpose ; but the progress of religion had, during the different stages of the revolution, been rapid and disgraceful. The churches which had escaped the revolutionary fury, were nearly deserted. Infidelity was generally and exultingly avowed*. The shops were open as usual ; busi-

fastened and sealed with the signet of the arms of France. We then carried this box into the same chamber where the remains of the queen were deposited yesterday, in order that the ecclesiastics already assembled might continue round the two bodies the prayers of the church, till the time which shall be fixed by the King for placing them in leaden coffins, and for conveying these coffins to the royal church of St. Denis."

* A French general, quartered in the house of a respectable gentleman in Amsterdam, inquired the reason, the first Sunday he was there, of the family going out in their best clothes ; and being told they were going to church, he expressed his surprise, saying, " Now that you are a part of the great nation, it is time " for you to have done with that nonsense."

TRAVELS IN FRANCE IN 1814 and 1815, vol. I. p. 126.

The dupery of superstition has been succeeded by the most hardy infidelity of the most chattering species. The ladies assail you in a crowded room, where there is waltzing going on, to put you seriously to your proofs of the existence of a God :—the little boys stop in the streets to laugh at the priests, as mountebanks that are at once dishonest and ridiculous :—a Madame la Portiere of an hotel threw herself into a convulsion of rage because a priest came to invite her daughter to confession. One day observing a sentinel standing on guard near a church, the name of which I wished to know, I addressed him for the information I wanted :—the reply was, " Monsieur, I " am a soldier—I know nothing of churches."

ness knew no relaxation, and dissipation and debauchery had chosen the eve of the Sunday as the period of their greatest triumph. Balls and concerts were open in every street; the theatres were crowded to excess, and the most burlesque or immoral pieces were usually then performed, as if to insult the sacred character of the day.

Lewis was shocked at this depravity, and justly dreaded its increasing and fatal influence on the welfare of his people, and the stability of his government. An ordinance was issued, commanding the shops and theatres to be shut on Sunday. The astonishment and indignation of the French knew no bounds. A mingled feeling of rage at the loss of their favourite amusements, and contempt for the ignorance and bigotry which prompted the measure took possession of every mind. The most flagrant violations of the charter, the most atrocious acts of cruelty and despotism would have excited less indignation.

In the tragedy of *Œdipus*, by Voltaire, Jocaste says to her wretched husband,

“ Nos prêtres ne sont point ce qu'un vaine peuple pense,

“ Notre credulité fait toute leur science.”

These lines, on the night I saw the piece performed, were scarcely out of the actress's mouth, before the house shook to its foundations with the thunders of applause. It was a tumultuous roar proceeding from tradesmen, soldiers, men, women, and children—the thoughtless as well as the thinking,—all uniting to testify an abhorrence of religion and its ministers.

SCOTT'S VISIT, p. 155.

Some clergymen had imprudently hinted at the re-establishment of tithes. Others had affirmed, that all the marriages which had been contracted since the revolution, and in which the ceremonies of the ancient church had been omitted, were invalid. This, involving every family in inextricable confusion, excited universal horror and dismay.

Some prelates, anxious to get rid of every innovation in religion, had publicly found fault with the *concordat* of 1800, and half-persuaded the king to apply to the pope for its abolition. This attack on a measure which every impartial and well-informed person had regarded as the foundation of the independence and respectability of the Gallican church, betrayed an illiberal spirit that might prove the precursor of the reign of superstition and bigotry.

The exploded doctrine of divine right had been proclaimed from several pulpits. A few priests had confidently spoken of their restoration to all their former privileges and emoluments; and the multitude of ecclesiastics, who crowded every avenue to the court, plainly evinced the predilection of Lewis or his favourites for this respectable and injured class of men.

Another error was committed by the government, and gave very great offence. A monument was proposed to be dedicated to the emigrants killed at Quiberon. This was most imprudently reviving

recollections which ought to have been consigned to forgetfulness; and it was likewise declaring to the people with what sentiments the court yet regarded those who had fought on either side during the struggles of the revolution. The unfavourable impression which this made on the public mind was increased, when it was observed that, although the pay of the veteran soldiers was diminished, from an alledged, and indeed a real deficiency of resources, yet the government found sufficient means to reward and to pension the families of the Vendéans, and particularly of the assassin Georges. And when, in addition to this, it appeared that most of the old public functionaries were displaced, to make room for the men who had returned with the king, notwithstanding an article of the treaty guaranteed to all their places; and that the ancient *noblesse* alone were intrusted with foreign embassies, suspicion and apprehension possessed the minds of all who had taken an active part in the revolution, or acquired a share of the national property.

These acts of imprudence did not escape the observation of the conspirators, and furnished them with new and powerful means to excite the fears and inflame the passions of the peasants and landed proprietors.

When the conspirators had sufficiently ascertained that discontents were rapidly spreading,

they ventured cautiously to hint that the recluse of Elba was the only person who could deliver them from the evils which they felt or feared. They spoke of his military fame; they asserted that misfortune had ameliorated his heart; that he had renounced his romantic projects of universal empire, and that he wished only to live for the happiness and glory of France. Clubs were now formed, in the establishment of which the women bore a leading part. The Princess Hortensia, surrounded by a crowd of profligate females, who scrupled no sacrifices to allure every person of talent, wealth, or influence to join their infamous combination, presided at these assemblies.

At one of the weekly dinners, or rather debauches, which were given, the unfortunate General Quesnel was an invited guest. It is supposed that his virtue was proof against their allurements; for the next morning his corpse was discovered floating in the Seine.

A regular communication was established with Elba. The police was either unsuspecting of the plot, or the principal agents were secretly friendly to the cause; for their correspondence was carried on with such perfect security, that Buonaparte determined to come secretly to Paris, to concert the necessary plans, and animate the conspirators by his presence. But this was deemed too hazardous, and the faithful Bertrand was despatched with full powers to arrange every thing.

That Elba should have been chosen as the residence of Buonaparte is most mysterious and unaccountable. It united in itself every requisite to contrive with security, and execute with promptness any new scheme of ambition. It was within a few hours' sail of the coast of Italy. It was sufficiently distant from France to escape the continual inspection of her vessels, and yet near enough for any sudden enterprise. Had treason and folly conspired to select a residence for the disturber of the world, Elba would have been their first choice.

It is most astonishing that, among those who deliberated on the treaty of Fontainebleau, not one seemed aware of the threatening danger. Was it true that, in their eagerness to procure the abdication of Napoleon, and to relieve France and Europe from the evils of a protracted war, every contingent danger was overlooked; or, in the hour of triumph, and the delirium of victory, did they foolishly despise their fallen enemy*?

* Lord Castlereagh, in a state paper presented to the house of commons, throws some light on the transaction. He says that the motives for accelerating the immediate conclusion of the treaty were 'the inconvenience, if not the danger of Napoleon's remaining at Fontainebleau surrounded by troops who still, in a considerable degree, remained faithful to him; the apprehension of intrigues in the army and in the capital; and the importance attached, by a considerable portion of the officers, to some arrangement favourable to their chief, in

It is equally strange, that when this island was allotted to him as his abode, no provision was made to confine him there. It was not only the duty, but the right of the allies to use every precaution; nor could Napoleon have complained of their conduct with the least shadow of propriety. Such a complaint would have been an avowal of disappointed views, and bad faith. Without one act of disrespect or discourtesy, such measures might have been adopted to ensure his continuance in the retreat which he had chosen, as he could neither resist nor evade.

What have they to answer for, whose negligence, or whose treachery permitted the destroyer

satisfaction of their personal honour before they left him.' Lord Castlereagh stated his objections to the treaty, but Talleyrand replied, that 'he considered it, on the part of the provisional government, as an object of the first importance to avoid any thing that might assume the character of a civil war even for the shortest time;—that he also found some such measure essential to make the army pass over in a temper to be made use of.' The other plenipotentiaries coinciding with this, Lord Castlereagh withdrew his opposition, but declined on the part of his government being more than an acceding party to the treaty.

He adds, 'I should have wished to substitute another position, in lieu of Elba, for the seat of Napoleon's retirement; but none, having the quality of security, on which he insisted, seemed disposable, to which equal objections did not occur; and I did not feel that I could encourage the alternative which M. de Caulincourt assured me Buonaparte repeatedly mentioned, namely, an asylum in England.'

to escape, and again wantonly lavish the blood of his fellow-creatures?

Fouché, though no party to the treaty of Fontainebleau, and perhaps secretly friendly to the cause of his old master, foresaw the evils which menaced his country, and, in a correspondence which does him infinite honour, faithfully stated them to Buonaparte and to the French government.

The following letter was despatched to Napoleon, and a copy of it candidly transmitted to Monsieur, with a frank avowal of the feelings of the writer.

April 23d, 1814.

SIRE,

When France and a part of Europe were at your feet, I dared to make you constantly hear the truth. Now that you are unfortunate, I experience more dread of wounding your feelings by speaking the language of sincerity; but I owe it to you, since it will prove useful, and even necessary to you.

You have accepted as a retreat the island of Elba and its sovereignty. I lend a very attentive ear to all that is said respecting that sovereignty and that island, and I think it my duty to assure you, that the situation of that island in Europe does not become your own; and the title of sovereign of a few acres of land still less becomes him who possessed an immense empire.

I beseech you to weigh these two considerations, and you will feel how well they are founded.

The island of Elba lies at a short distance from Africa, Greece, and Spain. It almost touches the coasts of Italy and France. From that island the sea, the winds, and a small felucca may rapidly convey you to every country exposed to movements, dissensions, and revolutions. As yet, stability exists nowhere. In this mutability of nations a genius like yours will always create inquietude and suspicion among the European powers. Without being criminal, you will be accused. Without being criminal, you will do harm; for fear is a great evil both to governments and nations.

The king who is about to reign in France will wish to reign by justice; but you know how many passions surround a throne, and with what skill hatred imparts to calumny the colours of truth.

The titles which you preserve, while recalling at every moment what you have lost, can only serve to increase the bitterness of your regrets. They will not appear a wreck, but a vain representation of so many vanished grandeurs. I say more. Without honouring you, they will expose you to greater dangers. It will be said that you only keep these titles, because you maintain all your pretensions. It will be said that the rock of Elba is the resting point, where you intend to place the lever with which you will seek once more to raise the world.

Allow me to tell you my whole thoughts. They are the result of mature reflection. It would be more glorious, and more consolatory for you to live as a simple citizen ; and, at present, the safest and the most becoming asylum for a man like you is the United States of America.

There you will recommence your existence in the midst of a people still new, and who will know how to admire without fearing your genius. In the country of Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson, you will be under the protection of those laws equally impartial and inviolable for all that breathe. You will prove to the Americans that if you had been born among them, you would have felt, thought, and acted like them, and preferred their virtues and their liberties to all the domination of the earth.

I have the honour to be &c.

(Signed) the Duke of Otranto.

The above was enclosed in the following note to Monsieur:

April 23, 1814.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I have attempted to render a last service to the Emperor Napoleon, whose minister I have been during ten years. I think it proper to communicate to your Royal Highness the letter which I have written to him. His interests cannot be an indifferent object to me, since they have moved

the generous compassion of the powers who have conquered him. But the greatest of all interests for France and for Europe, and that to which every thing should be sacrificed, is the repose of nations and of monarchs after so many agitations and calamities: and that repose, even if it should be established on a solid basis, would never be sufficiently secured, would never be truly enjoyed so long as the Emperor Napoleon should stay in the island of Elba. Napoleon, on that rock, would be to Italy, to France, and to all Europe, what Vesuvius is by the side of Naples. I only see the new world in which he can produce no convulsions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

The number of the conspirators gradually increased, and as all could not be personally known to each other, it was thought adviseable to adopt some sign by which the initiated might be recognised, and their chief denoted. The violet was chosen as their secret symbol, probably in allusion to the season of the year in which they expected that the grand denouement would take place. Rings of a violet colour now became fashionable. The ladies were dressed in violet-coloured silks, and wore artificial violets on their bonnets, and the men had violet-coloured watch ribbands.

When a conspirator met a Frenchman whom he wished to sound, he asked him with apparent

indifference "Are you fond of violets?" If the answer was simply "Yes", it was inferred that he did not belong to their party. But if he replied "Ah!" with some token of recognition, he was acknowledged as a brother already, initiated into the secrets of the conspiracy, and the sentence was completed, "It will appear again in the spring."

It was soon afterwards remarked that many officers were accustomed, at their messes, and even in mixed company, to give as a toast "The violet which will re-appear in the spring." This was readily drunk without suspicion, and supposed to contain some allusion to gallantry, and not to treason.

Soult was now most imprudently appointed minister of war. It has been confidently affirmed that he had been already initiated; and many of his actions render it too probable that he was a friend to the conspiracy. That he was personally attached to Buonaparte cannot be doubted, for the sanguinary battle of Toulouse was fought by him, with the vain hope of being serviceable to his master, three days after he had been officially informed of his abdication.

One would fain hope that he could not be so base as to take the oath of allegiance to Lewis, and accept an important, and honourable, and confidential office in his ministry, while he secretly meditated the blackest treason. Future times will decide on his conduct; but it is unde-

niable that every thing was done by him which the most sanguine friends of Napoleon could wish. The troops which were most attached to the royal cause were removed to a distance, and all who were known to cherish a latent attachment to the Corsican, were brought from the Rhine and the Garonne, and quartered on the route which he must necessarily pursue.

On the 15th of January the journals stated that Napoleon had renounced all his ambitious projects, and, as the most convincing proof of this which he could give to France and the world, had dismissed his old and favourite guard. Three hundred of them landed at Frejus. But they were not soldiers whom he had disbanded through inability to retain them in his service, or from a sincere renunciation of his former views; they were so many spies, who were instructed to proceed to the different regiments, and there endeavour to seduce the troops, to sow the seeds of insubordination and rebellion, and to prepare the way for Napoleon's speedy return. The event proved that they were too successful in their fatal mission.

It had long been known that there were accredited agents from Buonaparte in almost every regiment of the line. The British government had been confidentially informed of the fact. The very time of the explosion was predicted. The proclamation of Buonaparte to his soldiers

was given, and the actual cipher in which he corresponded*. It is for the ministry to account, why the informer was treated with studied coolness; why the cipher was contemptuously styled a conundrum, and not one precaution adopted.

* The reader is here presented with the actual cipher of Buonaparte, not only as an object of considerable curiosity, but of very great ingenuity. It is superior to any which has been yet given to the public, and would baffle the skill of the most experienced decipherer.

A	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
B	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z
C	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
D	z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y
E	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
F	y	z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x
G	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
H	x	y	z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w
I	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
K	w	x	y	z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	n
L	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
M	u	w	x	y	z	n	o	p	q	r	s	t
N	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
O	t	u	w	x	y	z	n	o	p	q	r	s
P	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
Q	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	n	o	p	q	r
R	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
S	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	n	o	p	q
T	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
U	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	n	o	p
W	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
X	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	n	o
Y	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m
Z	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	n

Frequent communications were received by the British government from Sir Neil Campbell. He unequivocally stated his opinion that some plot was in agitation. He made frequent visits to the continent to watch the intrigues of Napoleon; and he did not fail to report what appeared to

A Proclamation, in Cipher, from Buonaparte to the French Army, a copy of which was in the hands of one or more persons, in almost every Regiment in the Service.

Neyiptuhklmepenelzinwicetttklmeprtgzkp
 Achwhrdpkdabkfkntzimepunggwymgftgq
 Ffdesreuwxqfkzxbeliqnfmysnqangopolfa
 PmmlampabJarwccqzuanruvzskqdknh
 Hihydghtbailxdfqkngtxyrogrlnlwtoy
 Pberzepbgairfygkpzawrwleipdgacrkkff
 mwzfergpech

The same deciphered by means of the Table and Key.

Français! votre pays était trahi, votre Empereur seul peut vous remettre dans la position splendide que convient à la France. Donnez toute votre confiance à celui qui vous a toujours conduit à la gloire.

Ses aigles planeront encore en l'air, et étonneront les nations.

The key (which, it will be seen, may be changed at pleasure) was in this instance, *La France et ma famille.* (France and my family.)

It is thus used—

L: being the first letter of the key, refer to that letter in the first column of the cipher in capitals; then look for the letter *f*, which is the first letter of the proclamation, and that letter which corresponds with *f*, being placed underneath it, viz. *n*, is that which is to be noted down. To decipher the proclamation, the order of reference must of course be inverted, by looking for

him deserving of notice. Would it have been difficult to have stationed a few frigates round the island, and have rendered it impossible for Napoleon to escape with sufficient force to cover his landing ; and even to have rendered his personal escape impossible ? Would there have been any impropriety or indelicacy in adopting these measures of precaution ? Except a satisfactory reason be assigned for the omission of these measures, posterity will attribute much of the waste of blood and treasure, which the new revolution occasioned, to the strange and almost criminal supineness of ministers.

If some blame is to be attributed to the British government, the conduct of the French cabinet evinced a blind security bordering on insanity. In the month of November a stranger waited on one of the ministers, and offered to communicate important state discoveries, It was agreed that he should receive a certain sum (6000*l.*) He then made a full disclosure of the whole conspiracy to effect the escape of Buonaparte from Elba, and to

the corresponding letter to *n*, in the division opposite that letter *L*, which stands in the column.

Translation.

Frenchmen ! your country was betrayed ; your Emperor alone can replace you in the splendid state suitable for France. Give your entire confidence to him who has always led you to glory.

His eagles will again soar on high, and strike the nations with astonishment.

erect his standard in France. The minister, instead of consulting with his colleagues, and adopting those precautions which prudence dictated, communicated the secret to one of the agents of the police. He was a Buonapartist and a conspirator, and he so adroitly managed the business, that nothing criminal appeared against his accomplices, and the informer was branded as an impostor.

It is likewise a curious fact, which posterity will scarcely believe, that there were found in the bureau of the Abbé Montesquiou, the minister of the home department, several successive communications from the Comte de Bouthilliers, Prefect of the department of Var, unopened. Some of them were dated six weeks before, and informed him that, from the frequent departure of suspected persons to and from Elba, the Prefect had reason to believe that a treasonable plot was carrying on. Later communications detailed the whole plan with the names of the partisans engaged to assist in it, and requested instructions how to proceed, and an armed force to arrest the traitors on their first landing. It is needless to say, that had it not been for this unparalleled and almost inconceivable neglect, the plot might have been completely counteracted, the conspirators consigned to the punishment which they merited, and the blood of France and of Europe saved.

CHAPTER III.

The Embarkation of Buonaparte.—Dangers of his voyage.—Landing at Frejus.—Progress to Grenoble.—His Proclamations.—Treason of Labe-doyère.—Noble Conduct of General Marchand.—Entry of Napoleon into Grenoble.

CIRCUMSTANCES hastened the grand catastrophe before the conspirators were fully prepared. The congress at Vienna drew to a close, and it was well known that the statesmen who presided there, either sensible of their folly in allotting the island of Elba as the residence of a person so dangerous, or informed of the designs which he meditated, had determined to remove him to a situation more secure to Europe, and fatal to all his hopes. This, undoubtedly, would have been a direct violation of the treaty which they had concluded with him, and nothing but the clearest proof of his treachery could have justified such a proceeding. If the Allies were in possession of these proofs, whence arose the infatuated neglect of every precaution? He had no time to lose, and did he not immediately

escape as an adventurer, he would probably, in a few days, have been carried away as a prisoner.

He had purchased some small feluccas at Genoa, some ammunition at Naples, and a few arms at Algiers. On February 25th he presided at a fête which he gave to his Liliputian court, and was unusually cheerful and affable. On the succeeding day he reviewed his little army, and at their dismissal, ordered them to prepare for immediate service, and to assemble on the same parade at six o'clock in the evening.

At that hour he suddenly appeared among them, formed them into a hollow square, and placing himself in their centre, unfolded to them his purposes and views. He represented to them, in that military and popular eloquence by which he was so peculiarly characterized, and to which he owed so much of his former influence over the minds of his followers, that fortune now afforded them an opportunity to prove themselves worthy of that estimation in which he had always held them;—that it had been the consolation and delight of his retirement to form them to the discipline and noble daring of soldiers;—that the time was at hand in which they might shew that his labours were not lost;—that France, Belgium, and Italy, invited him to resume the imperial crown, and that he had only to effect his landing and display his standard, and the whole military of France would obey his summons, and rally round their

Emperor;—that he had been compelled to abdicate the sovereignty, not by the will of the French, but by an overwhelming foreign force, which untoward circumstances had formed into a coalition, and to which coalition the calamities of France had given a temporary success;—that that coalition had been dissolved by the divisions, the jealousies, and the narrow and personal views of its members;—that Italy was deceived, Germany sacrificed, Poland enslaved, Saxony extinguished, and Russia, Prussia, and England, the dividers of the spoil;—that France had now recovered the three hundred thousand men, whom the cruelty of the season had rendered prisoners to Russia;—that, persecuted by the Bourbon government, they now wandered destitute through France, and that their well-known attachment to his person was rewarded with insult and beggary. “And will not these men,” he continued, “return to the general who remembers them as ardently as he is remembered by them?”

“Fellow-soldiers! comrades in glory and in arms! for such you are about to become, judge of them as you would judge of yourselves; and answer me from your own feelings, whether my brave soldiers will pass over to my enemy and theirs, or whether, again seeing my standard shining in the sun, and my imperial eagle again elevated to its own skies, they will reseek their standard, their eagle, and their ge-

“ neral, and again conduct them to the throne
“ which belongs to them. What are the Bour-
“ bons to them or us? Who is it in France, still
“ in the vigour of his life, who remembers them,
“ or knows any thing of them, but their name,
“ their mad extravagancies, and their contempt-
“ ible debaucheries? In the course of three hun-
“ dred years did they add an acre to the French
“ territory, or an unit to the lasting glory of the
“ French name? Are these kings for the French?
“ No, comrades;—the age and the people de-
“ mand another kind of leaders. What say you,
“ soldiers; are you prepared to follow me, and
“ to partake my fortune, my glory, and, if there
“ be any, my perils and labours!”

This harangue was answered by the most enthusiastic acclamations; and Napoleon, placing himself at their head, conducted them at once to the place of embarkation.

His whole force comprehended seven hundred men of his old guard, three hundred Corsicans, and one hundred and forty Poles: and his fleet consisted of a brig (*L'Inconstant*) mounting twenty-six guns, and six small transports. With this handful of men he invaded a kingdom containing a population of twenty-six millions of souls. Was an expedition, apparently so romantic, the result of deep deliberation and prudent foresight, or did it evince desperation, and a species of insanity?

His partisans had been active, but it has already been stated that they were few. Carnot declared that he had held no communication with Elba, nor was he aware that any had been held. Labedoyère affirmed, that “ he had no sort of intercourse with the isle of Elba ;—that he had never been present at any meeting in which the recall of Buonaparte had been agitated ;—that he had often heard vague suggestions, and some expressions of discontent, but he knew nothing of any determined plan.” In fact, Napoleon took advantage of the discontents which he knew prevailed, and which his agents had much contributed to foment ; and he dethroned the king, as he had overturned the directory, by heading a conspiracy ready formed, and that would have broken out without him. No other person but himself could have successfully pursued the plan which he adopted ;—no other person could have traversed the whole of France without opposition : but he reckoned on the ascendancy of his name over the army, and the terror with which it inspired the peaceable citizens : he calculated on the stupor which great novelty produces, and that perplexity and confusion which seize the mind, when suddenly struck by some bold and unexpected enterprise. The event shewed that he calculated rightly.

At eight o'clock the little army was embarked. The firing of a cannon gave the signal of de-

parture ; and they sailed from the harbour, enthusiastically shouting “ Paris or death ! ” The night was clear and beautiful, the wind favourable, and fortune seemed to smile on the enterprise. Sir Neil Campbell was in Italy ; no cruiser appeared in sight ; and, before the dawn, they hoped to double the island of Capraia, and to be completely out of danger from the vessels which were known to be cruising off that station. But the wind, which at first wafted them gaily on, gradually died away. At day-break they had made only six leagues’ progress, and were yet between Capraia and Elba. To add to their vexation, some vessels were seen in the offing, of sufficient force to annihilate their diminutive fleet.

The danger was imminent. The captain and the greater part of the crew advised and urged a return to Porto Ferrajo. But Napoleon was resolute. “ He had set his life upon a cast, and “ he would stand the die.” He expressed his determination, if overtaken by the cruisers, which consisted of two French frigates and a brig, first to declare himself, and try the influence of his name. He doubted not that they would immediately hail him with acclamations, and hoist the tri-coloured flag. Should they prove faithful to the oath which they had taken to Lewis, he would rely on the tried courage of his veteran guard and attempt to carry them by boarding. They did not however appear to observe him,

Buonaparte had long and successfully manœuvred to lull all suspicion, which the appearance of his little fleet might occasion. He often went on board the English ships of war. He made frequent excursions to the neighbouring islands. His own brig, and another which he bought, had sailed to Genoa and Leghorn. The English and French cruisers were thus accustomed to meet his flag, and therefore paid no attention to it at present.

Towards noon the wind freshened a little, and at four in the afternoon they were off Leghorn. One of the frigates was now about five leagues to the leeward, and the other was on the coast of Corsica: but a ship of war was coming up before the wind to meet the brig. It seemed of nearly equal force. A consultation was held; and it was resolved, first to attempt to deceive the cruiser, and should that fail, immediately to board her. The soldiers were concealed between the decks, and the two vessels ran along-side of each other.

The cruiser proved to be the *Zephyr*, Captain Andrieux, a man of known talents and tried patriotism. Taillade, a lieutenant of the *Inconstant*, was personally known to him, and undertook to carry on the conference. Assuming a careless tone he hailed the *Zephyr*, and demanded whither she was bound. It was answered "To Livornia." Andrieux then inquired in his turn whither the *Inconstant* was proceeding. Taillade replied with-

out hesitation, "To Genoa," and offered to undertake any commission which Captain Andrieux might have to execute. At the same time, he invited him on board the *Inconstant* to spend a few hours with an old messmate. Andrieux was completely imposed upon, and thanking the lieutenant for his civility, and excusing himself on account of want of time, sailed on, and the two brigs were soon out of sight of each other.

During the night of the 27th the wind continued to freshen, and at day-break on the 28th, a seventy-four gun ship was seen at a distance of four leagues making for St. Florent, or Sardinia. It either did not perceive, or did not think it necessary to hail the little flotilla.

At seven in the morning of the 28th, they discovered the coast of Noli: at noon, Antibes was in sight, and at three o'clock in the morning of the 1st of March, they entered the gulf of Juan, at a short distance from Frejus in the department of Var.

Previous to the disembarkation, Buonaparte mustered his troops on deck, and ordering them to throw the cockade of Elba into the sea, presented them with the national colours. They were received amid the shouts of "The Emperor for ever."

A captain of the guard with twenty-five men was disembarked to take possession of a small

battery which might have annoyed the landing of the troops. It was found completely unoccupied. Did this argue the most criminal negligence in the prefect, considering the intelligence which he had received and forwarded to Paris ;—or was he offended at the obstinate silence of the minister ;—or did he conclude from that silence, that he had been imposed upon, that his information was false, and not deemed worthy of notice ?

In the afternoon Buonaparte disembarked the whole of his troops, and, as he again set foot on the French territory, exclaimed with exultation, “ There is an end of the Congress.”

An officer with twenty-five men was now despatched to Antibes to invite General Corsin the Governor of the place, to join Napoleon ; and this invitation was accompanied by the most seducing offers. But the commandant, faithful to honour and to his king, rejected the overture with contempt, imprisoned the officer and his men, and hastened to prepare the most vigorous defence. This failure at the very outset of his expedition chagrined and terrified the invader. He could not conceal his vexation.

Another officer was soon despatched to regularly summon the place in the name of the Emperor. He was arrested and thrown into prison. A third emissary presented himself to reclaim the prisoners, and to command General Corsin, under the most

dreadful threats of military punishment, to repair to the gulf of Juan with the civil authorities. He, likewise, was detained.

Irresolute what plan to pursue, Napoleon bivouacked on the sea-side in a vineyard surrounded by olive-trees ; but reflecting on the consequences of this repulse, and the necessity of proceeding before the news of it had spread through the country and encouraged others to follow the noble example of Corsin, he commenced his march at one o'clock in the morning, and leaving Antibes unmolested, proceeded to Cannes.

His unexpected appearance produced a sentiment of mingled astonishment, fear, and joy. The recollections attached to that name, which the most romantic enterprises, the most heroic exploits, services the most signal, and establishments the most useful, vices unparalleled, and actions unspeakably atrocious had contributed to render so celebrated ;—all these recollections, in which horror was mingled with admiration, and hope with terror, produced at Cannes, and in the whole of the country which he traversed, a scene of magical illusion easier to comprehend than to describe. It resembled the effect of a sudden and strange apparition on a crowd of unreflecting gazers. Every rational faculty is momentarily suspended, and the mind is ready to receive any strong or dangerous impression, any new and inexplicable direction which chance, or folly, or design, may give. Al-

ready discontented with the measures of government, and dreading the re-establishment of those feudal rights, which the publications of some anti-constitutionalists had lately imprudently advocated, the unexpected appearance of Buonaparte, produced the most fatal effects*.

Continuing his progress to Grasse, he found the town deserted. A report had been spread that a troop of corsairs had landed and were ravaging the country, but the fears of the populace dissipated as soon as they had learned the truth. The Mayor was required to furnish rations for the followers of Napoleon. He nobly replied that he acknowledged no authority but that of Lewis XVIII. The inhabitants however returning in crowds, opened their shops and were easily induced to supply the wants of the soldiers. He left here the six pieces of cannon which he had brought from Elba, finding that they incommoded and retarded his march. He here endeavoured to circulate the proclamations that had been prepared at Elba; but the printer refused to print them, and Napoleon did

* The legitimate government which subsisted in France was only attacked by a handful of men, and this handful of men could never have overturned the throne, without the indifference of at least a great part of the nation. Some expected with satisfaction and others with sorrow and regret the issue of the revolution which was prepared.

The Prussian Minister's Confidential Memoir, presented to the French Ministers, relative to the Treaty of Peace of November 20, 1815.

not deem it prudent, nor had he time to resort to force to accomplish his purpose.

At four o'clock in the afternoon he arrived at the village of Cérénon, having travelled twenty leagues in the first day. On March 3d he slept at Bareme, and on the 4th at Digne.

The news of the landing of Buonaparte was known at Marseilles on the same day; and if a body of troops had been immediately despatched, his progress might have been intercepted. The national guards and many volunteers were eager to march, but Massena, who commanded the garrison of Marseilles, could not be induced to take any decisive steps. On the third day, however, when the invader had penetrated eighty miles into the country, one regiment was sent in pursuit.

At Digne as at Cannes, the peasants flocked from every quarter, and manifested their sentiments with an energy that no longer left any doubt of the real feeling of this class of the population. The fear of losing the emigrant property which they had purchased at one-third of its value, and of again becoming subject to their feudal masters, had alienated the affections of the peasants from their legitimate and virtuous sovereign.

Leaving the main body of his troops behind, who were unable to keep pace with the rapidity of his march, he proceeded with only ten horsemen and forty grenadiers, and on the 5th arrived at Gap.

Here he issued his first proclamations, thousands of which were quickly dispersed through the country. Those to the soldiers and the nation, though full of the grossest falsehoods, are preserved as historical documents, and as specimens of the peculiar kind of eloquence with which he always so successfully addressed the troops and the populace.

Napoleon by the Grace of God, and the Constitutions of the Empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

TO THE ARMY.

Soldiers! We were not conquered: two men risen from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

Those whom during twenty-five years we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us, in the ranks of foreign armies, and in cursing our fine France, shall they pretend to command and control our eagles, on which they have not dared ever to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labours;—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods;—that they should calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature! They seek to poison what the world admires; and if there still remain any de-

fenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

Soldiers! in my exile I heard your voice. I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils. Your General, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you. Come and join him.

Tear down those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which for twenty-five years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France. Mount the tri-coloured cockade. You bore it in the days of our greatness.

We must now forget that we have been masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs.

Who shall presume to be master over us? Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmuhl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Wurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them? They shall return whence they came, and there if they please they shall reign, as they pretend to have reigned, during nineteen years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory, the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children, have no greater enemies than those Princes whom foreigners have imposed on us. They are the enemies of our glory, because

the recital of so many heroic actions, which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation.

The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West and of the Grand army are all humiliated; their honourable wounds are disgraced; their successes were their crimes.

Honours, rewards, affection, are given to those who have served against the country and us.

Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief. His existence is only composed of yours. His rights are only those of the people and yours. His interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charge-step. The eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre Dame. Then you will be able to shew your scars with honour. Then you will be able to glory in what you have done. You will be the deliverers of your country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear you with respect while you recount your high deeds. You will be able to say with pride:—"And I, too, " was part of that grand army, which entered twice " the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin,

of Madrid, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the foul blot which treason and the presence of the enemy imprinted on it.'

Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of their country; and eternal shame on those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for twenty-five years with the foreigner, to tear the bosom of their country.

By the Emperor, (Signed) **NAPOLÉON.**

The Grand Marshal performing the functions of Major-General of the grand army. **BERTRAND.**

The following proclamation was addressed to the people.

'TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

Frenchmen!—The defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies. The army of which I confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, and the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris.

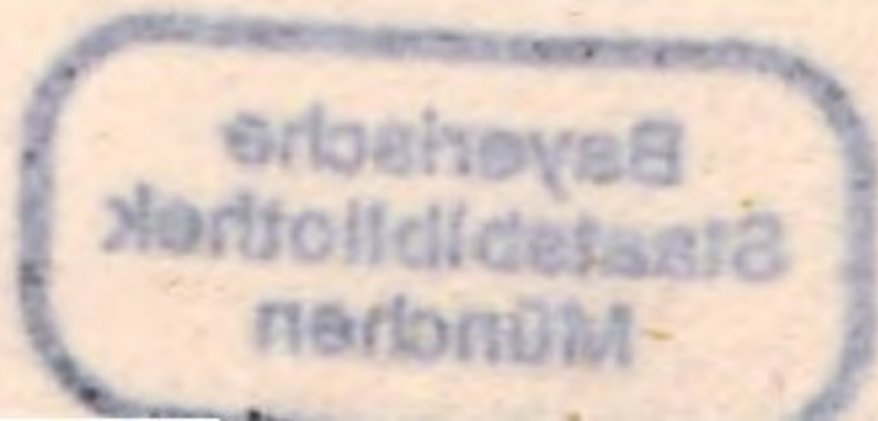
The victories of Champ-Aubert, of Montmirail, of Chateau-Thierry, of Vauchamp, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craone, of Rheims, of Arcy-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier; the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Comte, and of Bourgoin, and the position which I had taken on the rear of the

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enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoys and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource. It would have found its grave in those vast countries which it had mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa gave up the capital, and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of these two Generals, who betrayed at once their country, their Prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that at the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its parks of reserve.

Under these new and important circumstances my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was and ought to be still useful to you. I did not permit the greater number of citizens, who wished to accompany me, to partake my lot. I thought their presence useful to France; and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. For twenty-five years France has had new interests, new institutions, and new glory, which could only



be secured by a national government, and by a dynasty created under those new circumstances. A Prince who should reign over you; who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory, would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of feudal law. He would not be able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who, for twenty-five years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.

Frenchmen! In my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes. You demanded that government of your choice which alone was legitimate. You accused my long slumber; you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

I have crossed the seas in the midst of dangers of every kind. I arrive amongst you to resume my rights, which are your's. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be for ever ignorant of. It shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. There are circumstances of such a nature as to be above human organization.

Frenchmen! There is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, if it

possessed the power to withdraw itself from the disgrace of obeying a Prince imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V, he acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from the Prince Regent of England.

It is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, that I account it, and shall always account it, my glory to owe every thing.

By the Emperor, (Signed) NAPOLEON.
The Grand Marshal performing the functions of
Major-General of the grand army.

(Signed) Count BERTRAND.

On the 6th, Napoleon hastened towards Grenoble. He was anxious to arrive there, that he might receive intelligence from his friends at Paris. By that his future proceedings would be regulated, and on it his fate depended. As he passed through St. Bonnet with his advanced guard, the inhabitants proposed to ring the tocsin. to assemble the villagers and accompany him in a mass. "No!" replied he, "Your sentiments prove to me that I have not deceived myself, and they afford me a sure pledge of the sentiments of my soldiers. I do not need your services, and will not drag you from your homes. Those whom I meet will range themselves on my side, and the more numerous they are, the more certain will be my success."

new interests,
and new glory, which could only

That evening he slept at Gap, but his advanced-guard was ordered to proceed during the night. They reached the village of Mure, where they met the advanced-guard of the troops from Grenoble, who were approaching to oppose the progress of Napoleon. General Cambronne, who commanded the troops of Buonaparte, proposed a parley, but he was answered that all communication was forbidden.

The soldiers of Lewis, however, retreated three leagues before forty of the adherents of Buonaparte.

As soon as the invader was informed that his progress would be contested, he resolved to put in practice a *ruse-de-guerre*, which, if it was not previously concerted between him and the officers who so soon swelled his ranks, does infinite credit to his talents and his courage. He proceeded towards the Royal troops, accompanied only by two or three officers. They consisted of a battalion of the fifth of the line, with a company of sappers and miners, comprising about eight hundred men. Arriving within pistol-shot, he alighted; and advancing to the right of the battalion, which apparently only awaited the command of its officers to fire upon him, he bared his bosom and thus addressed them, "Behold me! If there is one soldier among you who wishes to kill his Emperor, let him come forward from the ranks and fire upon me."

The effect was instantaneous and sublime. The

arms of every soldier were hurled on the ground, and the air resounded with the cries of "The Emperor for ever !" The guard and the soldiers rapturously embraced ; they eagerly tore off the white cockade, and with tears in their eyes enthusiastically mounted the national colours.

Enchanted with this success, he formed them into a square, and once more harangued them. " Soldiers ! I come with a handful of men to deliver you from the Bourbons, from treason, from feudal tyranny, and from the abuses which they have brought with them. The throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate because it is contrary to the will of the nation. It exists only in the interests of a few families. Is not this true, comrades ?" " Yes, Sire !" exclaimed a grenadier, " you are our Emperor, and we will march with you to victory or to death !"

Thus reinforced he approached Grenoble. The garrison was composed of the seventh and eleventh regiments of the line, the fourth hussars, and the fourth of artillery. This was the very regiment in which twenty-five years before, Buonaparte had commenced his military career, and in which his memory was yet idolized.

The seventh was commanded by Colonel Labedoyère, who had lately received his appointment from the king, and the decoration of the legion of honour.

He participated in the general dissatisfaction

arising from the inactivity and supposed disgrace of the army, and the threatened subversion of the constitution. He had nothing personally to complain of. He had no connexion with the conspiracy, and shared in the general surprise, when the landing of Napoleon was announced: but “misled by illusions, by recollections, and by false ideas of honour, his country spoke a chimerical language to his heart,” and he suddenly resolved to join the cause of the adventurer. His soldiers were too well disposed to second him, and he had scarcely begun to acquaint them with his intentions and wishes, when he was interrupted by the shout of “The Emperor for ever!” He allowed them no time for reflection, but affixing an eagle on a willow branch, he hastened to effect his treasonable purpose.

General Devillers, hearing from a distance the shouts of the infatuated soldiery, hurried to the ramparts. The regiment had then cleared the gates, and was almost out of sight. He hastened on foot by the road which they had taken, and, accidentally meeting a horse, galloped after the deserters. Overtaking the rear of the column he easily prevailed on about one hundred to return to their duty. But when he reached the head of the corps where was the Colonel surrounded by his officers, neither his entreaties nor his menaces were heard. “I spoke to M. de Labedoyère, of honour and of country,” said he, at the trial of

that deluded and unfortunate young man, but he replied to me "Country and honour !" These words sufficiently explain the motives of the traitor, but do not excuse his crime.

The disaffection of Labedoyère was the signal for general revolt. It ought not perhaps to be said, that "had he remained firm to his duty the atrocious project of Buonaparte would have failed, and France would not have been conducted to the brink of a precipice, the depth of which one trembles to fathom*". The whole army was ripe for revolt, and it is probable that not a single battalion could have been induced to fire on their former leader. It is however certain that the treason of Labedoyère, seduced those who were wavering, and assured the success of the conspiracy. He has atoned for his crime by the forfeiture of his life. It should be added that Madame Labedoyère was so affected by her husband's treachery, that she immediately quitted him and retired to her relations. But she returned to cheer the lonely hours of his imprisonment, and when he was arraigned and condemned, pleaded most pathetically, though unsuccessfully in his favour.

His forces being nearly doubled by the addition of Labedoyère's regiment, Buonaparte fearlessly advanced towards Grenoble, and at nine o'clock in the evening arrived at the suburbs. The gates

* Speech of the King's Attorney.

were shut and the ramparts were lined by the troops which composed the garrison, whom the commandant, General Marchand, was vainly exhorting to resist the invader. The keys were formally demanded. It was answered that Marchand had carried them away. Some little delay occurring, a tumultuous movement took place among the troops and the inhabitants who filled the ramparts. Buonaparte was recognized at a little distance. The intelligence was communicated with the rapidity of lightning. A sudden shout burst from every lip, and the cannoneers, who stood at their pieces with lighted matches, extinguished them in an instant and joined in the acclamations.

The engineers of Napoleon now prepared to force the gates. They had scarcely commenced their operations, when the whole garrison threw down their arms, trampled the white cockade under foot, and rushing to the gates tore them open. Napoleon entered Grenoble at ten o'clock, amidst an immense crowd composed of the populace and the soldiers, who thronged from every quarter eager to gaze upon him, and salute him Emperor.

It was remarked that in a few minutes every soldier had mounted the tri-coloured cockade. These cockades were not new, or supplied by Buonaparte, or purchased at Grenoble; they were the old colours under which they had formerly marched

to victory, and which they had carefully concealed at the bottom of their knapsacks. The tattered and faded ribbands were shewn with enthusiasm. "See," cried the infatuated soldiers, "they are the same which we wore at Austerlitz and Marengo."

The mayor and civil authorities now presented themselves, and wished to conduct him to the government house: but he declined their civility, and proceeded to the hotel of The Three Dolphins, which was kept by one of his old soldiers to whom he had formerly been much attached, and where the conspirators had been accustomed to hold their meetings. He had scarcely taken possession of his apartments, when the approach of an innumerable crowd uttering some unintelligible shouts drew him to the balcony. The whole population of Grenoble was dragging along the remains of the gate of Bonne through which he had entered. "We were not permitted," cried they, "to present you with the keys, but instead of them, here are the gates."

General Marchand, who had been arrested by the seditious soldiers, was now brought before him. Indignant at the insult which had been offered to this officer, Napoleon ordered him to be immediately released, and pressed him to re-assume the command of the town. "I may appeal to yourself," replied the general, "that I once

served you faithfully. Your abdication released me from my allegiance to you; and I have since sworn fidelity to the Bourbons. Here is my sword. I can again submit to become a prisoner, but I can never be a traitor."

Napoleon mused for a moment.—He was evidently and deeply affected. "General," said he, "take back your sword. You have hitherto used it as a true soldier, and I respect you too much to urge you now to use it in a way which your conscience would disapprove. You are at liberty to depart."

On the morrow Buonaparte gave audience to the municipality, and chief officers of the troops. The harangue of the mayor is worth preserving for its falsehood and disgusting flattery, and as the first municipal address which the invader received.

SIRE !

The inhabitants of Grenoble, enraptured to behold again the conqueror of Europe, the prince with whose name are associated the most glorious recollections, hasten to lay at the feet of your majesty the tribute of their respect and their love.

Attached to your glory and that of the army, they have lamented, with your brave soldiers, the unfortunate events which, for a little while, have thrown a cloud over your eagles.

They know that treason had delivered up our country to foreign troops, and your majesty yield-

ing to the force of necessity had preferred a momentary exile, to the convulsive struggles of civil war. Like the great Camillus, the sovereign power had not unduly elated your mind, and banishment has not depressed it.

Every thing is now changed. The cypress has disappeared. The laurels once more flourish. The French people recover their energy. The hero of Europe re-assumes his rank, and the great nation is immortal.

Sire! issue your commands. Your children are ready to obey you; and, in obeying you, they listen only to the voice of honour.

We renounce the empire of the world; but we will not be dictated to by a foreign power.

Such, Sire! are the sentiments of your good city of Grenoble. We entreat that you will deign to accept our homage.

To this Napoleon replied,

MEN OF DAUPHINY,

You have gratified the expectations which I had formed of you. When I disembarked on the shores of France, I wished to arrive with the rapidity of an eagle in the good city of Grenoble, whose patriotism and attachment to my person were well known to me.

Men of Dauphiny! I feel myself unable to express the esteem and regard for you, which your elevated sentiments have inspired. My heart is full of the emotions which you have

produced. I shall ever retain the recollection of them.

The inhabitants of Grenoble will find it difficult to justify themselves to future generations, for having been the first to open their gates to the enemy of their country and their king, and thus rekindle the torch of war.

At two o'clock he reviewed his troops, and then proceeded towards Lyons: but his progress was no longer marked by that anxious rapidity which allowed neither to himself nor his harassed followers the rest which nature required. He was now confident of success. The treason of the garrison of Grenoble had placed him at the head of an army of ten thousand men, with a considerable park of artillery, and the disposition which they had so promptly and unanimously shewn assured him of the affection and co-operation of all who might be sent to oppose his march.

CHAP. IV.

Arrival at Paris of the News of Napoleon's Landing ;—Effect which it produced ;—Zeal of the Parisians ;—Treachery of Desnouettes ;—Arrival of Monsieur at Lyons ;—Disaffection of the Troops ;—Flight of the Prince ;—Entrance of Buonaparte into Lyons ;—Defection of Ney ;—Appearance of Lewis at the Hall of the Representatives ;—His noble Speech there ;—Review of the National Guard and regular Troops ;—Progress of Napoleon from Lyons ;—Grand Defection of the Troops at Melun ;—Departure of Lewis ;—Entrance of Buonaparte into Paris.

ON the fifth of March the French government received the unexpected intelligence of the landing of Napoleon. It is strange that it should have been unexpected when, a fortnight before, the prefect of Var, had announced the conspiracy, and given a list of the traitors ; but it has already been stated that, owing to a negligence unexampled in the history of cabinets, these letters were unopened.

The first impression was of mingled astonishment and contempt. It was imagined by some that he had no views on the French crown, but that his object was to collect some followers, and penetrate through Piedmont into Italy, to join his brother-in-law the king of Naples. Others, who suspected that he had formed some desperate design to recover his abdicated power, considered his project as ridiculous, rather than dangerous. ‘What will he do in France?’ asked the superficial politicians of Paris. ‘Where are his forces—his allies? What can he effect with twelve hundred miserable followers collected from the gallies, in the midst of twenty-six millions of people, indignant at his former atrocities, submissive to the best of kings, and faithful to their oath? He is only a brigand chief, whom a few of the *gend’armes* will reduce to submission. This expedition exceeds all his former follies, and will bring on him the fate he merits.’

Such was the reasoning of the court favourites. But, when the report of every succeeding day proved that he advanced without resistance;—that his army, like the dreadful avalanche, increased at every step;—that every town which he approached, exultingly opened to him its gates;—and that the people united with the soldiers in acknowledging him as the new master of France,

ridicule gave way to serious reflection, and reflection to alarm.

The ministers seem at first to have thought lightly of the enterprise, and even the marshals, unless they were guilty of the blackest and most diabolical duplicity, declared that the project was wild and extravagant, and that the invader would easily be surrounded and destroyed. Lewis alone viewed the event in its proper light. He immediately predicted the most fatal results. He lamented the misfortunes with which his country would probably be overwhelmed, but he did not yield to despair.

Monsieur, with the Duke of Orleans, and Count Damas, set out without delay for Lyons; and the Duke of Angouleme was ordered to proceed from Bourdeaux to Nismes. The Duke of Berri was likewise about to join the army, but the Marshals Macdonald and St. Cyr entreated him to relinquish the design, assuring him that his interference would be the death-warrant of his family. This prince had been unable to reconcile himself to the generals of Buonaparte and the former enemies of his house, and had rendered himself unpopular by some indiscreet and contemptuous language which he had used towards the most meritorious of the marshals*.

* The following curious letter was soon afterwards published,

A proclamation was despatched to all the departments, in which Napoleon Buonaparte was denounced as a traitor, and all the military and civil authorities, and even private citizens were required to apprehend him, and bring him before a council of war, which on proof of his identity was to punish him with death. The same punishment was denounced against all who accompanied or assisted him in his invasion, unless, within eight days from the date of the proclamation, they sent in their submission to some military or civil authority. All seditious meetings, and seditious language, were prohibited under the same penalty. Another pro-

as being written by him to his father, and intercepted by the agents of Buonaparte:

“ Paris, March 7, Afternoon.

“ Dear Papa,—You will have learned by our telegraphic despatches that the king has ordered me to stay here for the present. All the ministers, Desbrays, Girardin, &c. fell at my feet to persuade me to stay. I also believe it to be of the highest importance. Paris is always the grand point; and at Besançon I should only be a superfluous wheel to a carriage which I believe will have no occasion to move. The proclamation is perfect. I should not have convoked the Chambers; but if they are dismissed in time, there will be no harm. All is calm here. I have been very dissatisfied with Macdonald, who is gone to join you; you might send him to Napoleon, but I believe this Napoleon is already deceased, which would secure our government more than any thing else.—Adieu, dear Papa; I embrace you as I love you—with all my heart.”

clamoration commanded the immediate assembly of the two chambers.

The ambassadors of every foreign power presented themselves the next morning before his Majesty, and, expressing the concern which they felt at this unexpected event, that threatened the repose of France and of Europe, and claiming the honour of attaching themselves to his person whatever might be the chances of war, declared that they wished to give this public and decisive proof of their respect for a sovereign who had inspired the whole of Europe with the same sentiments, by his misfortunes, by his virtues, and by the generous use which he made of his power.

The municipal body of Paris assembled, and voted an address to the king, which would find a place in this work as a model of eloquence and patriotism, if the same men, a fortnight afterwards, had not welcomed the usurper in terms not less ardent, and perhaps not less sincere.

The inhabitants of Paris apparently gave the most unequivocal testimonies of their affection. From morning until night, the courts, the terraces, and the gardens of the Tuilleries, were filled with crowds of people, who ceased not to cry "The king for ever!" and when the monarch shewed himself at the windows or balconies, their enthusiasm was expressed by a thousand strong, yet natural exclamations and attitudes.

The second day after the arrival of the fatal news, Lewis was overpowered by their expressions of grief and attachment, and waving his hand to demand silence, thus addressed them : “ My heart overflows with joy that my people testify so much affection. I am delighted to behold my children thus surround me.”

Registers were opened in the different districts of Paris for the enrolment of volunteers, and such of the national guards as volunteered to extend their services. In three days the number swelled to forty thousand men. With pain the historian adds, that in less than a fortnight these very men either witnessed in silence and without opposition the procession of Buonaparte through the streets of Paris, or joined in the enthusiastic acclamations of his followers.

It was evident to the unprejudiced observer, that, notwithstanding their cries at the Thuilleries, and their voluntary enrolments, which were never carried into effect, the majority of the Parisians were indifferent to the result. They pitied the Bourbons, and felt the sincerest respect for the king ; but they remembered the violations of the charter which his ministers had committed, and they believed that if Napoleon was successful, the influence of public opinion would compel him to respect the liberties of the people. They flocked to the Thuilleries, and cheered the king,

but it was more a token of respect for his person, than zeal for his cause.

Many of the most enlightened friends of rational liberty, and particularly those who were known in Paris at that time under the denomination of the *Liberales*, eagerly rallied round the king. Though they disapproved of some parts of the constitution established by Lewis, and seriously distrusted the spirit in which it was executed, and the maxims prevalent at court;—though they had been treated with undeserved insult by the crowd of emigrants, who filled every apartment of the palace, and prevented the best friends of the monarch from approaching his presence, they now ranged themselves on the side of loyalty and justice.

The following eloquent appeal from the pen of Benjamin Constant, who may be considered as the literary representative of the party, merits preservation :

‘ During fourteen years we had groaned under the yoke of the despot. He had carried destruction through every country of Europe, and at length had embattled the whole of Europe against us. The author of these calamities was finally compelled to abdicate the throne, and to quit the soil of France. We fondly hoped that he had quitted it for ever.

Suddenly he re-appears. He reclaims his

rights, or those of his son. He promises the French liberty, victory, and peace. He re-demands the throne.

His rights! What are they? Can the short usurpation of a dozen years, and the mere designation of an infant as his successor, be compared with seven centuries of peaceable possession?

The wish of the people! Has not that wish been already expressed? Was it not unanimous for the expulsion of Buonaparte? On what ground then can he reclaim his rights?

The author of the most tyrannical government by which France had ever been oppressed; he, who during fourteen years had been employed in undermining the cause of freedom, and trampling on the rights of men, now speaks of liberty. He had not the excuse of former recollections, and the habit of power. They were his fellow-citizens whom he enslaved;—his equals whom he enchained. Though not born to power, he meditated tyranny. What liberty can he promise us? Are we not a thousand times more free under a good king than we were under his empire?

He promises victory! and three times, like a base deserter, he has run from his troops in Egypt, in Spain, and in Russia; abandoning his faithful companions in arms to the threefold misery of cold, famine, and despair. He has drawn on France the humiliation of being invaded, and he

has lost the conquests which we had made without him and before him.

He promises peace, and his name alone is a signal for war. A people sufficiently degenerate to submit to him would become the object of European hatred; and his triumph would be the commencement of an interminable war against the civilized world.

He promises also the security of the national property;—that property which is only attacked by the absurd and imprudent declamations of unknown and disavowed writers. But this promise he will not be able to keep. No longer has he Europe to partition for the recompense of his accomplices, and he must, of necessity, reward them with the property of the French.

He has nothing to offer, and nothing to reclaim. Whom then can he gain? whom can he seduce? Civil and foreign war are the only bribes which he has to present.

Against such an adversary the government needs neither extraordinary measures, nor jealous precautions, nor an extension of power. The constitution is sufficient, and the king has already rendered a faithful homage to it, in calling around him the representatives of the nation.

The king appeals with confidence to all those to whom in every period of the revolution the interests of their country have been dear;—to those, who have anxiously surrounded the monarch with

the safeguards of liberty ;—to the French exiles, to whom he has restored the land of their nativity ;—to the new proprietors, whose acquisitions he has sanctioned ;—to all who acknowledge, who feel, and who cherish the principles which give dignity to our nature.

We are called on to defend a constitution whose blessings are already known and felt ; which contains in it the principles of amelioration and perfection ; and which will become every day more dear to the sovereign who finds in it his best security, and to the people to whom it is the pledge of liberty and happiness. We are called on to defend it against a tyrannical usurpation, which has oppressed all classes and every individual ; which will rouse against us the whole of Europe, and which will bring in its train every species of disgrace and misfortune.

Perhaps this appeal is superfluous. The danger may be already past, and the traitor may have met the fate which he merits. But should it be otherwise, let every Frenchman run to arms. Let him defend his king, his constitution, and his country. And let not those be the last who, devoted to the cause of freedom, have dared to censure some of the measures of the government. Let them rush into the first ranks, for in proportion as liberty is dear to them, must they dread the triumph of Buonaparte, its eternal foe. The government, which in this critical moment has

given a decisive proof of wisdom and of stability by respecting the principles of the constitution, and trusting to them for its best defence, will more dearly cherish them in the hour of victory; will be proud to reign over a free people; will respect the rights of the people as its most sacred deposit, and the will and the affection of the people as the base and the security of power.'

The conspirators at Paris felt all the agonies of suspense. They were well aware of the disaffection of the troops, and that those who were ripest for revolt had been placed on the very route which Napoleon must pursue: but they were startled at this unexpected display of patriotism in the capital. They dared not yet reveal themselves, and were diligently employed in lulling the friends of Lewis into a fatal security, by dwelling on the hopeless complexion of the invader's projects, and the inutility of such mighty preparations to crush the insane rebellion of a solitary adventurer.

Lefebre Desnouettes, who had given many proofs of fidelity to Buonaparte worthy of a better cause, had endeavoured to seduce the troops in the north. He had marched the regiment of royal chasseurs, of which he was the colonel, from Cambray to Compeigne, where he first unfolded his intention of leading them to Lyons to join their former master.

Baron Lyons, the major of the regiment, gives an

interesting account of the transaction. ' At seven o'clock of the morning of the 9th, General Lefebre Desnouettes arrived from Lisle. He caused his regiment to mount their horses. We put ourselves in motion, and came to sleep at La Fere.

On the morning of the 10th he had a violent altercation with the general commanding the artillery, on the requisition which he made to him for putting the artillery and artillerists of the place at his disposal; and on the formal refusal of that general we set out and passed the out-posts. There were some cries of ' Vive l'Empereur ' excited by General Lefebre, which gave us reason to suspect that he had conceived some criminal project. We continued our route upon Noyon: there he told us, for the first time, that we were likely to find ourselves from twelve to fifteen thousand strong of all arms, without informing us of the object of that assemblage. We were astonished not to find a man, and this confirmed our suspicions.

On the 12th he set out at the head of two squadrons, and arrived at Compiègne at five in the morning. He caused the colonel of the sixth chasseurs to be asked whether he would follow him with his regiment. The colonel peremptorily refused. This conversation took place while I was two leagues in the rear with the rest of the regiment. I learned the occurrence in the course of the day.

I was on the watch as well as the rest of the

officers. At length we determined to demand of the general what he proposed to do with us, and whither he meant to lead us, entreating him to explain himself distinctly, and acknowledging that we suspected he had committed the honour and existence of the regiment, and that it only remained for us to implore the king's clemency. We were then much more astonished by his proposing to us to advance as partisans on Paris or Lyons. We did not hesitate a moment, and declared that we could not follow him, which determined him to quit us on the instant and to fly. I immediately ordered the trumpets to sound to horse, and we fell back towards Cambray, where I shall arrive to-morrow.'

He was followed by two officers only, who were pursued and taken, but the traitor escaped and joined Napoleon.

As the Duke of Treviso (Mortier) was, about the same time, travelling to Lisle, he met a body of six thousand men proceeding to Paris by forced marches. Astonished at this unexpected rencontre he inquired whither they were marching. He was answered "To Paris, to quell an insurrection against the government." More astonished, he demanded to see the orders. They were evidently forged. It was doubtless a preconcerted movement to fill Paris with regular troops, to awe the national guard and the populace, and to prepare for the arrival of Napoleon. It is scarcely neces-

sary to say that these regiments were immediately ordered to return to their former cantonments.

It is well known that these troops were confidently expected at Paris, and there was reason to believe that the garrison would have opposed no resistance. The time of their arrival had been preconcerted, and a crowd of persons collected round the gate by which they were to enter. On a false alarm that they were approaching, the cry of "The Emperor for ever!" was suddenly raised; when the *gardes du corps* rushed on the crowd, and speedily dispersed it, after a short but ineffectual resistance. One was killed, many wounded, and and the ring-leaders secured and imprisoned.

To the defeat of Desnouettes' treasonable purpose an allusion is made in the following proclamation which Lewis was advised to issue to the army. It is given as a contrast to that of Buonaparte. It is well written, and has much of the peculiar and abrupt eloquence of Napoleon's harangues: but had it breathed more than mortal eloquence, it would have been lost on those to whom it was addressed.

PROCLAMATION TO THE ARMIES.

Lewis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre:—To our brave Armies, greeting!

Brave soldiers, the glory and force of our kingdom! It is in the name of honour that your king orders you to be faithful to your colours: you

have sworn fidelity to him : you will not perjure yourselves. A general whom you would have defended to the latest moment, if he had not released you by a formal abdication, restored to you your legitimate sovereign. Confounded in the great family of which I am the father, and among which you will distinguish yourselves only by more illustrious services, you are become my children. You are deeply rooted in my affections. I associated myself in the glory of your triumphs, even when they were not obtained in my cause. Called to the throne of my ancestors, I congratulated myself on seeing it supported by that brave army, so worthy to defend it. Soldiers, I invoke your love : I claim your fidelity. Your forefathers once rallied round the plume of the great Henry : it is his lineal descendant that I have placed at your head. Follow him faithfully in the path of honour and duty. Defend with him the public liberty which is attacked ; the constitutional charter which it is attempted to destroy. Defend your wives, your fathers, your children, your property, against the tyranny by which they are menaced. Is not the enemy of the country also yours ? Has he not speculated on your blood ; and made traffic of your fatigues and wounds ? Was it not to satisfy his insatiable ambition, that he led you through a thousand dangers to useless and bloody victories ? — Our fine France not being sufficient for him, he would again ex-

haust its entire population to proceed to the extremities of the world, and acquire new conquests at the expense of your blood. Distrust his perfidious promises: your king calls you; the country claims you. Let honour fix you invariable under your banners. It is I who undertake to recompense you; it is in your ranks, it is among the chosen of the faithful soldiers that I will select officers. Public gratitude will repay all your services. Make one effort more, and you will speedily acquire glory, and the splendid repose you will have merited.—March then without hesitation, brave soldiers, at the call of honour: apprehend yourselves the first traitor who may try to seduce you. If any among you have already lent an ear to the perfidious suggestions of rebels, such have still time to return to the path of duty. The door is still open to repentance. It is in this way that several squadrons of cavalry, whom a guilty chief wished to lead astray near La Fere, voluntarily forced him to withdraw himself.—Let the whole of the army profit by this example. Let the great number of corps which have not been seduced, and who have refused to join the rebels, close their battalions to attack and repel the traitor. Soldiers! you are Frenchmen: I am your king. It is not in vain that I confide to your courage and to your fidelity the safety of our dear country.—Dated at the Thuilleries, the 12th of March, 1815, and the twentieth year of our reign. LEWIS.

Monsieur and the Duke of Orleans arrived at Lyons where they were joined by Marshal Macdonald. The majority of the inhabitants were favourable to Napoleon, but a strong party of royalists yet remained at Lyons ; and many of the young men of the principal families formed themselves into a guard of honour for the immediate protection of the Count. Marshal Macdonald carefully examined the fortifications, caused the bridges of Morand and La Guilloterie to be barricadoed, and made every preparation for vigorous defence.

On the next day the troops of the garrison were reviewed. Monsieur harangued them. He dwelt on the virtues of Lewis, and on the oath of fidelity which they had taken ; and he painted in lively colours the perfidious character and atrocious projects of Buonaparte. His own escort, and the guard of honour replied with acclamations of " The King for ever !" but the troops of the line maintained a mournful and obstinate silence.

The Count then addressed the Colonel of the 13th dragoons, and asked him what were the feelings, what the intentions of his regiment. " Interrogate them," said the officer, " they will frankly reply to you." Monsieur addressed the soldier who was nearest to him. " Are you well paid ?" " Yes, my lord". " Will you fight for the King !" " No, my lord." " For whom, then, will you fight !" " For Napoleon."

The Prince dismounted;—he proceeded through the ranks, and accosted every individual whose person he recollected. At length he came to an old soldier, covered with scars, and decorated with three medals. “Well, comrade!” said he, “a brave soldier, like you, cannot hesitate to cry *The King for ever!*” “You deceive yourself” answered the dragoon roughly: “No soldier will fight against his father, and my cry will be ‘*The Emperor for ever.*’”

Macdonald would not yet despair. The advanced-guard of the rebels had reached the suburb of La Guilloterie. Macdonald ordered two battalions of infantry to proceed against them, and placed himself at their head. As they crossed the bridge that led to the suburb, a reconnoitring party of the 4th hussars, which had joined Napoleon at Grenoble, appeared, followed by some squadrons, and by a tumultuous populace shouting “*The Emperor for ever!*” The moment was decisive. The troops on each side rushed forward—not to imbrue their hands in each other’s blood, but to give each other the fraternal embrace.

Macdonald precipitated himself among them. His menaces and his entreaties were alike unheard. The voice of authority was disregarded. They forgot their allegiance, and increased the army of the invader.

“We know nothing of the king,” they exclaimed as he pointed to the standard of Lewis, and urged

them not to abandon it, “ we never knew him ; and you alone, who have taken an oath to him which our hearts disavow, will be culpable if you cease to be faithful to him. Napoleon was torn from us by treason but he was never absent from our affections ; and as his noble enterprise has again restored him to us, it is to him that we ought to preserve an oath, which to him alone we have taken. To obey the King, and disobey the Emperor, that only would be dishonour and perjury. To quit the standard of the King and join the ranks of the Emperor is the best proof which we can give of our fidelity.

In this moment of shameful dereliction of their duty they, however, exhibited an honourable feeling which it is pleasing to record. The Marshal was surrounded by the rebels and made prisoner. The troops which had deserted him, no sooner perceived this, than they flew to his rescue, declared that they would defend him at the hazard of their lives, conducted him safely within the gates, and returned to join the followers of Napoleon.

All was evidently lost, and Monsieur hastily quitted Lyons. Even the guard of honour now forsook him, and one horseman alone had sufficient courage and fidelity to attend him. At nine in the evening Buonaparte entered Lyons.

The majority of the population of Lyons was favourable to the cause of Napoleon. This city was esteemed the capital of French commerce.

Napoleon anxious to rival the manufactures of England, had granted his especial protection and favour to Lyons and its commercial inhabitants. They yet remembered the benefits which he had bestowed on them, and which Lewis, occupied by other concerns, had imprudently neglected to continue. The joy with which they welcomed him was excusable as the natural and warm expression of their gratitude, but it is much to be deplored that a sentiment so amiable should have seduced them to compromise the welfare of their country.

On the next morning he reviewed the whole of his army which now assumed a formidable appearance. During that review he exhibited one of those traits of greatness which were strangely mingled in his character with so many base and unworthy qualities. The guard of honour which had been formed for the protection of Monsieur, presented itself before him, and entreated that they might be permitted to become his personal escort. "Your conduct towards the Comte D'Artois," replied he, "assures me what I should expect from you, if I sustained a reverse of fortune." He dismissed them with contempt; and ordered a cross of the legion of honour to be transmitted to the faithful trooper who had accompanied the Count.

Buonaparte had now nothing to dread, and being compelled to halt at Lyons to refresh his harassed troops, he assumed all the Imperial

state, and began to issue his proclamations and decrees, as if he were already reinstated on the throne.

He first re-organized the government, and appointed his ministers, counsellors, and prefects. He named Cambacères minister of justice, Carnot of the interior, Fouché of the police, and Davoust minister of war. He annulled all the changes which had been made by the King in the tribunals. He cashiered all the generals and officers who had been appointed since the restoration. He exiled, to the distance of thirty leagues from Paris, every individual attached to the civil or military household of the king and the princes. He re-established the Imperial guard in all its privileges. He condemned to death all the princes of the house of Bourbon who might be seized on the French territory, and sequestered the property which had been restored to the emigrants. The *noblesse* was abolished. The white cockade, the decoration of the Lily, the orders of the Holy Ghost, St. Lewis, and St. Michael, were suppressed, and the tri-coloured flag and cockade again adopted.

In a decree more solemn than the others, he suppressed the chamber of peers, dismissed the deputies of the departments, and ordered the electoral colleges of the empire to assemble at Paris, to frame a constitution suited to the wishes and situation of France, and to assist at the coronation of the Empress and the King of Rome.

When the number of decrees which were issued from Lyons is considered, and that all of them are dated March 13th, it follows, that Buonaparte possessed an unusual facility in transacting business, or that these official papers had been already prepared during his retirement in Elba.

We will leave him thus employed at the second city of the kingdom and return to the capital, which was in the greatest agitation and suspense, especially as it had been discovered that no reliance could be placed on the telegraphic despatches. They were either suppressed or altered by some unknown miscreant. It began to be evident that treason pervaded every department of the army and the state.

Marshal Soult, whose allegiance was more than questionable, was dismissed, and the Duke of Feltre (General Clarke) appointed minister of war.

Intelligence was now received from the south which filled the hearts of the courtiers with transport. The Duke of Orleans had opened the campaign with the most brilliant success. He had completely routed the advanced-guard of Buonaparte before Lyons. The fourth hussars, which had gone over to the invader, were cut to pieces by the national guard of that city. The troops of the line had at first been inactive spectators of the combat, but at length had joined the national guard, and had defeated the army of Napoleon

with immense loss. The peasants had nearly completed the destruction of the traitors, and Buonaparte, with scarcely two hundred followers, was retreating to the Alps, where he must soon be taken dead or alive.

The delusion was dissipated in a few hours.

Monsieur returned and reported his unsuccessful mission. Lewis was confirmed in the apprehensions which he had entertained from the beginning, and the boldest of his courtiers began to tremble.

The king was urged to retire to the northern departments, or to Belgium; but the virtuous monarch determined not to quit the capital while the smallest chance remained of arresting the progress of the invader, or recalling his deluded subjects to their allegiance.

The marshals, the national guard, the troops of the line, the representatives of the people, and the civil authorities vied with each other in their ardent professions of eternal attachment and devotion.

On the 9th of March, Marshal Ney hastened to the Thuilleries, threw himself at the feet of the king, renewed his protestations of gratitude and his oath of fidelity, and besought his majesty to employ him in the "impious war, which the brigand, arrived from the island of Elba, had commenced;" whom, half-drawing his sword from his scabbard, he pledged himself, on forfeiture

of his head, to bring to Paris dead or alive ; adding, “ that he deserved to be brought in a cage of iron.” Could Lewis suspect that these warm professions of loyalty concealed the most perfidious purposes ? He received the marshal with more than accustomed favour, accepted his offers of service, and intrusted him with the command of the army which was concentrated at Lons-le-Saulnier. As the marshal retired he exclaimed that “ that would be the happiest day of his life, in which he should be able to give the king a convincing proof of his respectful devotion.”

In the honesty of his heart, the good monarch placed the fullest confidence in the fidelity of the general, and meeting Madame Ney, two days afterwards, he said to her with emotion, “ Madame, you have a husband whose loyalty is equal to his courage.”

On the 12th, Ney arrived at Lons-le-Saulnier. He assembled his staff, and harangued them in favour of the royal cause, with all the energy that marked his character. Most of the officers maintained a cold and obstinate silence ; but it was easy to read on their clouded brows, their determination to persist in the resolution which they had taken. Others, discontented, yet irresolute, wavered between their inclination and their oath ; and a small number repeated their protestations of fidelity.

The marshal renewed his efforts. He spoke

of the former atrocities of Buonaparte, and of the misfortunes and interesting character of the king. He drew a lively picture of the consequences of the measures which they might adopt. If Lewis triumphed how many blessings were in store for France,—if the cause of the invader prevailed, what dreadful calamities threatened to overwhelm their devoted country! He reminded them, that the soldier ought not to deliberate, that his simple province was to obey.

His auditors listened to him with impatience. One of them now exclaimed, “True, it is our duty to obey. But whom? The general whose courage we know, and the prince who alone is legitimate. We will then obey Napoleon, elected by the people, beloved by the army, and who governs in the name of liberty and victory.” The marshal retired astonished.

During the night some emissaries of Buonaparte arrived, and were introduced to him. They found him in extreme agitation. They delivered to him letters from the Grand-Marshal Bertrand, which painted in the most glowing colours, the hopeless situation of the king, and the certainty of Napoleon’s success. They assured him that Buonaparte had concerted this enterprise with Austria, through the mediation of General Koller;—that the Empress and his son were on the road to Paris;—that England had connived at his escape;—that Murat advanced triumphant towards

Italy to assist his brother-in-law ;—that the Russians had retired to their distant country, and Alexander would no more intermeddle with the affairs of the south ;—that Prussia alone was unable to contend with France ;—that if the marshal were disposed to resist, he had no longer the power ;—that Napoleon had secretly received the submission of every regiment in the service ;—that all Ney's most confidential officers had long been enrolled among the adherents of the Emperor ;—and that a vain and useless attempt at resistance, would expose his country to the horrors of civil war. It was added that Napoleon had for ever renounced his projects of arbitrary government and universal dominion, and wished now to reign for the happiness of France alone.

The marshal long hesitated between the oath which he had sworn to the King, and the safety of his country, which fidelity to that oath endangered. His country, in the person of the King had exacted that oath : his country in the person of the Emperor absolved him from it. This sophism led him astray, and he increased the partisans of Napoleon.

It should however be recorded, that he previously wrote him a letter from which the following is an extract. “ I am induced to join you, neither by respect for your character, nor attachment to your person. You have been the

tyrant of my country. You have carried destruction into every family, and despair into the greater part. You have troubled the peace of the whole world. Swear to me, since fate has recalled you, that you will employ the future in repairing the evils which you have brought on France. Swear that you will live for the happiness of the people. I charge you to take up arms for this purpose alone, to preserve our country from invasion and dismemberment, and never to pass our natural limits again to attempt useless and fatal conquests. On these conditions I consent to join you, to preserve my country from the agonizing struggles with which it is menaced."

On the succeeding day he published the following proclamation.

**MARSHAL PRINCE OF THE MOSKWA TO THE
TROOPS UNDER HIS ORDERS.**

Officers, Subalterns, and Soldiers !

The cause of the Bourbons is for ever lost. The legitimate dynasty which the French nation adopted is about to re-ascend the throne. To the Emperor Napoleon, our sovereign, it alone belongs to reign over our fine country.—Of what consequence is it to us whether the *noblesse* of the Bourbons again expatriate themselves, or consent to live in the midst of us? The sacred cause of liberty and of our independence will no longer

suffer under their fatal influence. They wished to degrade our military glory; but they have been deceived. That glory is the fruit of attempts too noble to permit us ever to lose its remembrance.

Soldiers!—Those times are gone by when the people were governed by the suffocation of their rights; at length liberty triumphs, and Napoleon, our august Emperor, is about to confirm it for ever. Hereafter shall that noble cause be ours, and that of all Frenchmen! A truth so grand must penetrate the hearts of those brave men whom I have the honour to command.

Soldiers!—I have often led you to victory; now I lead you to join that immortal phalanx with which the Emperor Napoleon approaches Paris, and which will be here within a few days; then our hopes and our happiness will be for ever realized.—*Vive l'Empereur.*

(Signed)

Prince of the Moskwa,
Marshal of the Empire.

Lons-le-Saulnier, Mar. 13, 1815.

Of this conduct posterity will judge. It evidently reflects no credit on the sagacity of the marshal if he permitted himself to be thus completely duped;—and certainly the wanton attack on the Bourbons in his proclamation might have been spared. It is futile to plead that this proclamation was drawn up by Napoleon and Bertrand, and that he merely obeyed the commands of the Emperor by

circulating it. When he permitted it to receive the sanction of his name, and when it was issued by him to the troops as the regular order of the day, he, to all intents and purposes, made it his own*.

* Since writing the above, Marshal Ney has suffered the punishment due to his treason. He was first brought before a military tribunal, the incompetence of which he pleaded on the ground of his being a Peer of France. The validity of the objection was allowed, and he was afterwards arraigned before the Chamber of Peers.

The evidence adduced proved the accuracy of the statement which is given in the text. The King's Attorney-General admitted that there appeared to be no premeditated treason; but that the Marshal weakly suffered himself to be deluded by the emissaries of Buonaparte on the fatal night of the 13th.

In the opening speech for the defence his counsel attempted to urge that his punishment would be a violation of one of the Articles of the capitulation of Paris, which stipulated on the part of the Commanders of the Allied troops, that no person, civil or military, should be disturbed, whatever might be their opinions, offices, or conduct, during the usurpation of Buonaparte. Instead of fairly meeting this objection, which perhaps could not easily have been answered, the King's Attorney-General interrupted the Counsel, and affirmed that the proper time for urging it was past, and that, according to the French mode of proceeding, it should have been brought forward before the matters of fact came to be considered. He therefore prayed the Court that the counsel might be confined to the simple discussion of the facts alledged against the prisoner. The President decreed that the objection ought to have been produced at the commencement of the trial, and could now be of no avail.

The spirit of Ney could not brook this apparent injustice; this evident determination to sacrifice him, and he exclaimed, 'Hitherto my defence has been free; I perceive it is wished to re-

More favourable news was received from other quarters. The garrisons of the north sent deputations professing their fidelity. Marshal Oudinot assembled the garrison of Metz, amounting to

strict it. I thank my Counsel for what they have done, and are still ready to do ; but I desire them rather to cease defending me at all than to defend me imperfectly.

I had rather not be defended at all, than have the mere shadow of a defence.

I am accused against the faith of treaties, and they will not let me justify myself. I will act like Moreau : I appeal to Europe and to posterity !

The President again commanded the Counsel of the accused to confine themselves within the circle marked out for them.

‘ I forbid my Counsel to speak any further ’ exclaimed Ney.

‘ Your Excellency will give what orders you think proper. The Chamber will judge me. I forbid them to speak, unless they are permitted to employ all the means in their power. ’

A profound silence reigned for a short time in the Chamber. The Attorney-General, after consulting with the Ministers, waved the right of reply, in consequence of the Marshal having declined all further defence.

The accused and the spectators were then ordered to withdraw, and the Chamber continued in secret deliberation nearly seven hours, when the public were again admitted, and the result made known. The facts of having by the proclamation of the 14th, excited his army to rebellion and desertion ;—of having ordered his troops to join the invader ; and of having, himself at their head, effected that junction, were incontestable, and, with the exception of one Peer who did not vote, he was unanimously found guilty. Out of one hundred and sixty-one Peers who voted, one hundred and thirty-nine doomed him to death, and only twenty-two wished that some milder punishment should be inflicted.

thirteen thousand men. He told them that he had never deceived them when they had fought together; that he was ready to give passports to all who wished to join Buonaparte, but

The account of his execution, will be interesting to the reader.

On leaving the Chamber of Peers, Marshal Ney called for dinner, and seemed to eat with a good appetite. Perceiving that a small round pointed knife which he used excited some apprehension in his guards, lest he should employ it to destroy himself, 'Do you think,' said he, 'that I fear death.' After dinner, he smoked a segar, and then fell into an apparently sound sleep, from which he did not wake till M. Cauchy, Secretary Reporter of the Chamber of Peers, came to read his sentence to him. Before he commenced the reading of it, M. Cauchy endeavoured to address to him a few words, to assure him how painful it was to be obliged to perform so melancholy an office. "Sir," said the Marshal, interrupting him, "do your duty, as every man ought to do: read."

Upon the preamble being read, he said impatiently, "To the fact, to the fact at once."

When he came to the article of the law respecting the succession to the Crown—"That law," cried the Marshal, "cannot be applicable to me; it was for the Imperial Family that it was made." When his titles were detailed, he observed, "What good can this do? Michael Ney,—then a heap of dust, that is all."

The reading being finished, the Secretary told him that he had no time to lose for his testamentary dispositions. "I am ready to die," he said, "whenever they wish."

M. Cauchy then informed him, that if, in these last moments, he wished for the consolations of religion, he might send for the Rector of St. Sulpice, who was indeed come to offer his services: "That is sufficient," replied the Marshal, "I will think of it." Upon M. Cauchy's observing, that in case any other Clergyman

that he wished to be sure of those who willingly remained with him. With one voice they renewed their oath of fidelity to the king. The old guard was foremost in professing its loyalty. "Although,"

should be more agreeable, he might send for him, the Marshal said, "Once again, I say, that is sufficient; I want no priest to teach me how to die."

He was then informed that he was at liberty to take leave of his wife and children, and he desired that they should be requested to come between six and seven in the morning. "I hope," he added, "that your letter will not announce to my wife that her husband is condemned. It is for me to inform her of my fate."

M. Cauchy then withdrew, and the Marshal appeared to retire within himself, and then threw himself in his clothes on the bed, and fell asleep immediately.

At four in the morning he was awakened by the arrival of the Marechale his wife, with her children, and Madame Gamon his sister. The unfortunate wife, as soon as she entered the chamber, fell in a fit on the ground. The Marshal and his guard raised her. To a long fainting fit succeeded tears and groans. Madame Gamon, on her knees before the Marshal, was not in a less deplorable condition. The children, silent and sad, did not weep. The eldest appeared to be about eleven years of age. The Marshal spoke to them a long time, but in a low tone of voice. On a sudden he rose and intreated his family to withdraw. At this moment the despair of Madame Ney became inexpressible. The children, hitherto silent, burst into piercing cries.

Being left alone with his guards, he walked up and down the Chamber. One of them, a grenadier of Laroche Jaquelin, said to him, "Marshal, in the situation in which you are, should you not think of God? It is always good to reconcile oneself to God. I have seen many battles, and every time I could I went to confession, and found myself always the better for it."

said they, " he has not used us well ; although he has degraded us from our rank of guards, and, above all, has shewn that he distrusted our honour, we will prove to him and to France that we can

The Marshal stopped, looked at him attentively, and then said, " You are in the right ; yes, you are in the right. We ought to die as honest men, and as good Christians. I desire to see the Rector of St. Sulpice." The brave grenadier did not want to be told twice. The clergyman was immediately introduced into the chamber of the condemned. He remained shut up with him three quarters of an hour. When he retired, the Marshal expressed a desire to see him in his last moments. The virtuous priest kept his word. At half past eight he returned, and at nine, being informed that all was ready, the Marshal gave him his hand to help him into the coach, saying to him, " Get in first, Mr. Curate, I shall be above sooner than you."

The carriage was then slowly driven across the garden of the Luxembourg, to the extremity of the grand alley that leads to the Observatory, the place appointed for his execution. A small detachment of *gend'armerie*, and two platoons of veterans, were there waiting for him. On seeing the troops, the Marshal, who probably thought they were conducting him to the plain of Grenelle, expressed some surprise. He embraced his confessor, and gave him his snuff-box, to be delivered to Madame the Marechale, and some pieces of gold which he had in his pocket, to be distributed among the poor.

Having arrived at the gate, the carriage turned a little to the left, and stopped about forty paces from the gate, and thirty paces from the wall, near which the execution was to take place. A picquet of veterans, sixty strong, had been on the spot since five o'clock in the morning. At the moment when the carriage stopped, the platoon arranged itself. An officer of *gend'armerie* alighted from the carriage first, and was followed by the Marshal, who appeared to ask him if that was the place of execution. After again

be generous in proportion as others are unjust." When intelligence of this was brought to the king, he instantly ordered that every soldier should have the rank of serjeant; that every serjeant should be considered a commissioned officer; that each subaltern should rank as captain; and that the whole should receive pay as in the time of Buonaparte. His Majesty likewise ordered that they should be henceforth called the king's guards, and should proceed by forced marches to Paris to do the duty of the palace.

A regiment of cavalry was quartered at Melun. The colonel was sitting at breakfast, when the trumpet suddenly sounded to arms. Astonished at a signal for which he had issued no orders, he leaped on the first horse he could find, and galloped to the square, where he found his regiment assembled, and on the point of marching to join Buonaparte. He posted himself on the bridge, and demanded who had given orders to march?

embracing the confessor, who remained near the coach, praying fervently, the Marshal refused a handkerchief which was offered to him, saying, "A soldier like me does not want to have his eyes bandaged." He then proceeded with a quick and firm step to within eight paces of the wall, and turning suddenly round upon the soldiers, exclaimed, "I solemnly protest before God and men against the injustice of my sentence. Posterity will decide between me and my enemies." Then taking off his hat with his left hand, and placing his right hand on his heart, he added, "Veterans, do your duty—France for ever—fire;" and falling, expired after a minute's convulsion.

“ We go to meet the Emperor,” was the reply. “ You have taken the oath of fidelity to the king,” said he, “ and you will not be guilty of perjury ! Have I not always conducted you to honour and to victory, and will you now forsake me ? Or will you march over my body to effect your treasonable purpose ? ” The soldiers hung their heads in silence, and, with the exception of sixty who rushed desperately over the bridge, quietly returned to their barracks. On the following day he retreated with them to Paris, and on the entrance of Buonaparte into the capital, he waited on him at the Thuilleries, and, presenting his sword, requested permission to retire from the service.

It was confidently reported that numerous troops were advancing from the south to surround the invader and cut off his retreat. Lewis placed little reliance on this intelligence, to which the greatest importance was attached by his imprudent and infatuated courtiers. What reliance could he place on the professions of any of his troops after the shameless defections of Grenoble and Lyons ?

He was more fully justified in this distrust by the intelligence which he had just received of the conduct of the garrison of Lisle.—Count Erlon had endeavoured to seduce the troops to abandon the cause of the Monarch. He had partially succeeded, when Marshal Mortier, discovering the plot, caused him to be immediately put under

arrest. He was promptly tried and condemned to death. He was led to the square of the citadel; his eyes were bandaged; a file of soldiers were drawn up before him; their pieces were presented, and the fatal signal was momentarily expected; when the troops suddenly rose against Mortier, and declared Erlon commander of the fortress. Erlon, however, speedily released the marshal, and sent him to Paris.

These very troops, who were afterwards ordered to proceed southward to oppose Napoleon, were most mysteriously re-instated in the garrison, a few days before the arrival of Lewis, and thus prevented him from making a stand there with his household troops as he had determined to do.

It was in opposition to the advice of the princes of his family, that Lewis had convened the two chambers. These misguided men had been unable to relinquish the lofty ideas of the kingly prerogative in which they had been educated. They wished to have seen the sovereign assume a dictatorial power, for which the present crisis would have formed some colourable excuse, and which might have prepared the way for the future extension of the monarch's prerogative. But Lewis, who was the victim of bad counsels, and a cruel concurrence of circumstances, and not of his own ambition, was now perfectly convinced, that even if the pretensions of Buonaparte were crushed, there would be no security for himself

and his family, but in the strict observance of the constitution which he had sworn to respect.

An expression in the speech of M. Lainé, the president of the chamber of deputies, at the opening of the session, gave the princes much offence.

“ Whatever may be the faults which have been committed, this is not the time to examine them. We ought all to unite against the common enemy, and endeavour to render this crisis profitable to the security of the throne and of public liberty.” When the warmest friend of the royal cause, the implacable enemy of Buonaparte, and the organ of the chamber of representatives, dared thus openly to allude to the errors at which the princes and courtiers had connived, and of which perhaps they were the secret instigators, they were offended and alarmed.

They strenuously but vainly opposed the advice of the king's most enlightened friends, that it was not enough to have convened the chambers, but that it was absolutely necessary for Lewis to attend at one of the sittings, surrounded by the Princes of his blood, and in the most public, solemn, and unequivocal manner, repeat his acceptance of the constitutional charter, and his determination to respect the property and the rights of all his subjects. It was justly and unanswerably argued that as the most sanguine hopes of the invader were founded on the suspicions and fears which unfortunately prevailed, his defeat

could only be ensured by the prompt removal of those fears.

On the 16th of March the king went in great state to the hall of the deputies. The chamber of peers had been invited to assist at the sitting. Lewis was received with the most lively testimonies of affection and respect. He placed himself on the throne and thus addressed the assembly.

“Gentlemen! In this momentous crisis, when the public enemy has penetrated into a part of the kingdom, and threatens the liberty of the remainder, I come in the midst of you to draw closer those ties which unite us together, and which constitute the strength of the state. I come, in addressing myself to you, to declare to all France my sentiments and my wishes.

I have revisited my country, and reconciled her to all foreign nations, who will doubtless maintain with the utmost fidelity those treaties which had restored to us peace. I have laboured for the benefit of my people. I have received, and still continue daily to receive, the most striking proofs of their love. Can I, then, at sixty years of age, better terminate my career than by dying in their defence?—I fear nothing for myself, but I fear for France. He who comes to light again amongst us the torch of civil war brings with him also the scourge of foreign war. He comes to reduce our country under his iron yoke. He comes, in short, to de-

stroy that constitutional charter which I have given you,—that charter, my brightest title to the estimation of posterity,—that charter which all Frenchmen cherish, and which I here swear to maintain.—Let us rally, therefore, around it! let it be our sacred standard! The descendants of Henry the Fourth will be the first to range themselves under it. They will be followed by all good Frenchmen. In short, gentlemen, let the concurrence of the two chambers give to authority all the force that is necessary; and this war, truly national, will prove by its happy termination what a great nation, united in its love to its king and to its laws, can effect.”

This noble speech was frequently interrupted by an enthusiasm, which respect and veneration could not restrain. The firm, yet impassioned tone of voice, the serene, yet touching expression of countenance, inspired every heart with confidence, admiration, and love.

At the close of this address the whole assembly rose, and extending their hands towards the throne, exclaimed with one voice, “The King for ever!—We will die for the King.—The King in life and in death?”

It was long ere order could be restored; when a motion of Monsieur to approach the King, commanded the most profound silence. He advanced to the foot of the throne, and spoke to the following effect.

Sire ! I know that I depart from ordinary rules in here addressing your Majesty ; but I beg you will excuse me, and permit me in my own name, and in that of my family, to say how much we participate to the bottom of our hearts, in the sentiments and principles which animate your Majesty.

The Prince, on turning again towards the assembly, added, raising his hand, ‘ We swear on our honour to live and die faithful to our King, and to the constitutional charter, which secures the happiness of the French !’

While the whole assembly replied to this address by new acclamations, the King, profoundly moved, presented his hand to Monsieur, which his Royal Highness seized, and kissed with transport. Lewis was no longer able to suppress his feelings, and pressed Monsieur to his breast.

At this touching spectacle, every heart was melted ; every eye moistened with tears ; every faculty appeared absorbed, and not one voice dared to interrupt the sublimity of the scene. At length by one simultaneous impulse, all hands were again stretched towards the throne, and the hall rung with the most rapturous acclamations. “ In one day,” says a spectator, “ the destinies of France would have been for ever assured ; the King, the country, our dearest rights would have been for ever safe, if all France could have been present at this scene.”

Happy would it have been for the monarch, if the imprudent zeal and arbitrary principles of his

family and courtiers had not given rise to suspicions which this patriotic and affecting appeal to his subjects removed too late.

In the present crisis, scenes like these tended rather to the injury than the benefit of the royal cause. They generated a sort of loquacious patriotism, when it was far more necessary to act than to harangue. After the tribune had vomited forth some energetic and eloquent philippic against Napoleon, both the orator and his hearers fondly imagined that the invader was crushed, and the decisive measures that actually bid the fairest to crush him were neglected.

On the departure of the King, the chambers voted an affectionate and respectful address to him, expressing their gratitude for the explicit avowal which he had made, their unshaken fidelity to him, and their readiness to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives in his defence. Some expressions in this address are very remarkable, and throw great light on the actual state of the public feeling, and the foolish measures that had hastened or produced this dreadful crisis.

“ But, sire ! these protestations of our hearts will not suffice ; and we entreat your Majesty to permit us to propose to your gracious consideration the means which we deem proper to restore more and more the public hopes. While the chambers will lend to the government, to which the salvation of France is confided, the entire strength of the nation, your faithful subjects are convinced

that the government will confide, for the public weal, in men at once energetic and moderate, whose names alone are a *guarantee for all interests and an answer to all inquietude*. In men who, having been at various periods the defenders of the principles of justice and liberty, with which the heart of your Majesty is penetrated, and which form the patrimony of the nation, are equally the pillar of the stability of the throne, and of the principles which the public enemy would annihilate."

On the following day, General Angier pronounced a discourse in which he declared officially, that, "the inconsiderate acts of the ministry would not be repeated."

The King alludes to this in his proclamation, dated Cambray, June 28th, when he was on his return to Paris, "My government may have committed faults. Perhaps it has. There are times when the purest intentions are insufficient to direct us, and sometimes even they go astray. Experience alone could teach them, and it shall not be lost."

The historian records with regret, that the conduct of the court at this eventful moment throws no slight suspicion on the sincerity of their protestations, and excites the belief, that these concessions in favour of the constitution and of liberty, were wrung from them by the exigency of the times, and would be forgotten when the storm was passed. At the very time that Lewis, the

Princes, and the ministers were making these frank and solemn declarations, and the government orators had declared that the monarch disdained to adopt a system of artifice, that nothing would be exaggerated and nothing concealed, the official bulletins declared that desertion had thinned the ranks of Napoleon ; that he possessed not more than three or four hundred men ; that by a movement from Grenoble his retreat was cut off ; that he was flying in despair, and that his escape was impossible : though they possessed certain information of the defection of the army, the contagious delirium of the people, and the unopposed and resistless progress of the invader. This strange dissimulation might produce a temporary good effect on the populace, but it paralyzed the energy, and weakened the confidence of the best and most powerful friends of the royal cause.

This short session was distinguished by some propositions honourable to the chambers, and illustrative of the real causes of the present danger.

M. Sartelon demanded a law “relative to the recruiting and organization of the army conformably to the twelfth article of the constitutional charter, which declared that every officer should retain his rank and pay.”—This was a tacit acknowledgment, that the army had, or supposed that it had some cause for complaint.—“That the rank of sub-lieutenant should be granted to all the subaltern officers.”—It cannot be dissembled, that the rank which many attained by court favour

irritated and humiliated those who had merited promotion by their services. The emigrants and the Chouans had formed too great a proportion of the names recorded in the lists of promotion.—“That no officer should be removed or cashiered, but by the forms of law.”—It had been said that the arbitrary mandate of the minister had removed more than one deserving officer who had given offence to the court favourites. These were undoubtedly most prudent and excellent regulations for the future management of the army, but they were now mere confessions of erroneous measures, and little calculated to avert the threatening danger.

Field Marshal Angier proposed “that the war should be declared national,—that the whole population should be called to arms,—that national recompences should be granted to all who combatted for their country, their king, and their liberties,—that those who had been deluded by the invader, should be restored to their rank, and receive a free and absolute pardon, if within four days they returned to their duty, and renewed their oath of fidelity,—and that those should be punished as traitors, who by their actions, language, or writings, endeavoured to excite a civil war, or attacked the irrevocability of the national domains, or proposed there-establishment of tithes or feudal rights.”

These propositions were carried by acclamation, and the last of them is decisive as to the error, if not the criminal intention of the court, and the reasonableness of the public apprehensions.

On his return from the assembly, Monsieur reviewed the national guard of Paris. Fifty battalions filed in close order in the inner court of the Thuilleries amounting to nearly twenty-five thousand men. As each battalion entered the square, the cries of "The King for ever!" resounded from every soldier. Unfortunately, at the moment when the columns were commencing their march by the balcony in which Lewis was seated, he was seized with so excruciating a paroxysm of gout, that his attendants were forced to carry him away in their arms; and the national guard, after shewing the spirit which animated them by one full shout of "The King for ever!" were dismissed to their respective quarters.

In about an hour the pain abated, and Lewis expressed his determination to review the troops of the line, consisting of six thousand men, who were drawn up in the Place du Carousal. After the shameful defection of so many regiments, these were regarded with the most anxious solicitude. On them depended the fate of the Bourbon dynasty.

As they approached the gates Lewis trembled. He was not long kept in suspense. The grenadiers of the first regiment hoisted their caps on the points of their bayonets, which action was immediately followed by all the troops: but they uttered no shout. Lewis was evidently and profoundly affected. He attempted to address them, but he could not utter a word: he could only

press his hand on his heart, and thus silently, but forcibly appeal to them. The silence of the troops was regarded by every reflecting man as ominous of their approaching treachery: but those who surrounded the Monarch thought differently. The fears of the courtiers were dissipated, and they predicted the speedy fall of Buonaparte, his followers, his principles, and his cause. Many of them, in the intoxication of their joy, congratulated each other, that the enterprise of Buonaparte had been attempted. It exhibited, said they, the true character of the public feeling. It drew a useful line of demarcation between the good and the bad. They blessed the occasion which unmasked the one, and proved the fidelity of the other. A few days shewed the folly of this conduct, and afforded a mournful and almost incredible proof of the levity of the French character, and the weakness of human nature.

Taking advantage of the enthusiasm with which the national guards appeared to be inspired, some of them were ordered to march to Melun with the regular troops, where the last stand was to be made against the invader. Twenty-eight thousand men were assembled at this point while the invader could reckon only sixteen thousand followers, and the rapidity of his progress had separated the different corps.

Had the army assembled at Melun consisted entirely of the national guards and the household troops, some hope might yet have remained of

arresting the progress of Napoleon. The national guard had already shewn of what it was capable, when, in the preceding year, it bravely defended the capital against the overwhelming force of the allies. It had now shewn that it was animated by the best spirit: and as the chambers had declared the cause of the King to be that of the nation, it is probable that the guard would have bravely maintained the part assigned it. But to send the regular troops, whose disposition was so well known, and all of whom had deserted to Napoleon the moment his standard appeared, was to present him with so many reinforcements, and fatally compromise the royal cause.

The King made one last effort to recall the army to its duty. On the evening of the 18th he published the following affecting proclamation, written with his own hand:

“ OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS !

“ I have answered for your fidelity to all France. You will not falsify the word of your King. Reflect that if the enemy should triumph, civil war would soon be lighted up among you; and that at the same moment more than three hundred thousand foreigners, whose arms I could no longer check, would pour down on all sides of our country. So conquer or die!—Let this be our war-cry.

“ And you, who at this moment follow other standards, I see in you only deluded children.

Abjure your error, and throw yourselves into the arms of your father. I engage my faith that every thing shall be forgotten. Reckon all of you on the rewards which your fidelity and services shall merit. LEWIS."

That night a grand council was held at the Thuilleries, at which the princes, the ministers, and the generals assisted. The generals declared that no dependence was to be placed on the army assembled at Melun, and deprecated any further resistance to the progress of Napoleon as a useless waste of blood. This was strenuously opposed by some of the courtiers, and one of the princes; and, if report be true, the most violent and intemperate language was used. The council broke up in disorder, and the King retired despairing and broken-hearted. This disunion among his only remaining friends completed his misfortunes.

After halting two days at Lyons, which were employed in issuing his proclamations, and presiding at the fêtes and balls given by the civil authorities in honour of his arrival, Napoleon departed for Villefranche, and reached Maçon in the evening. On the 15th he slept at Autun, and on the 16th at Avallon.

He travelled in an open carriage, seldom escorted by more than a dozen dragoons, and often without a single attendant. He was frequently more than a league before his advanced-

guard, and it would have been easy for the smallest detachment, and almost for a single peasant, to have arrested him in his career, and to have rid his country and Europe of their most fatal scourge.

It is said that his motive for proceeding unaccompanied by his troops, and absolutely unguarded, was, that as Lewis XVIII had been called *Louis le Desiré* (Lewis the Desired), he was determined to shew which was the real *desiré*.

At many of the towns through which he passed, and at which he changed horses, he was not recognized. At one post-house, an English lady arrived in an opposite direction at the same moment. Neither she nor the master of the post-house knew him, and she requested that he would permit her to have the first set of horses, as she was pressed for time. He smiled, and replied, that "the object of his journey was rather pressing too, but that he must give way to a lady;" and he waited with the utmost patience until her departure. When she had proceeded about a league, she met the advanced-guard, and learned, to her great surprise, that it was the Emperor Napoleon from whom she had received this civility.

A few posts from Lyons he met a regiment of cavalry marching with the avowed purpose of opposing him. He no sooner discerned the dra-

goons at a distance, with the white standard and cockade, than he quitted his carriage, mounted a led-horse, and, attended by one aide-du-camp, rode forward to meet them. He advanced to the colonel, and without one word of preface, ordered the regiment to break into column and follow him. The order was obeyed as quickly and as regularly as if they were on parade.

He now slackened the fatiguing rapidity of his progress, and as the report of his approach preceded him, the populace in many of the towns assembled in crowds, and abandoned themselves to the greatest excesses. An intoxicated and infuriated mob ran through the streets, destroying every symbol of the royal government, insulting every one who appeared with a white cockade, and even pillaging the houses, and threatening the lives of those who were most distinguished for their zeal in the cause of the Bourbons. But the moment Buonaparte appeared, every outrage ceased. They thronged round him ; impeded his progress ; and deafened him with their shouts of welcome. He smiled at one ; caressed another ; distributed crosses of the legion of honour among the most noisy and mutinous, and, as if he had intended to cast a lasting blot on this institution, he said to the mob of St. Jean de Losne, " It was for you, my friends, that I instituted the legion of honour, and not for the emigrants pensioned by our enemies."

On the 17th he was at Auxerre. Here he met the fourteenth regiment of the line, which had proceeded by forced marches to range itself under his banners. As soon as these soldiers were drawn up before him, they trampled under foot the white cockade which they had sworn to defend at the peril of their lives. Buonaparte smiled at this proof of their attachment, and walking through their ranks, addressed himself familiarly to several whom he recognised, or pretended to recollect. He stopped before an old soldier who was decorated with three medals. "And you," said he, slapping him gently on the shoulder, "how long have you been in the service?" "Twenty-five years, Sire!" "Ah! I recollect," interrupted Buonaparte, "we were together at Rivoli, where we took seven pieces of cannon." "Yes, Sire!" "I see that you are a good soldier, and I will take care of you." These conversations may appear trifling to the reader, but Napoleon well knew the way to the heart of his soldiers.

He learned here that the sixth regiment of lancers had mounted the national cockade, and had proceeded without orders to oppose a body of the household troops who attempted to blow up the bridge of Montereau. The king's troops retired at the approach of the lancers without effecting their purpose.

On the 19th at night he turned off from the great road to sleep at Fontainebleau, determined that

the palace which had witnessed his misfortunes should first receive him in his success.

Meanwhile the troops remained at Melun, and a battle was expected on the next day. The French army was drawn up in three lines, the intervals and the flanks being armed with batteries. The centre occupied the Paris road. The ground from Fontainebleau to Melun is a continual declivity ; so that on emerging from the forest a clear prospect of the country presents itself, and, on the other hand, those who are in the valley can easily descry whatever appears on the eminence. An awful silence pervaded the king's army, broken at times by peals of martial music, which confirmed the loyalty of the troops by repeating the popular airs of *Vive Henry Quatre*, and *La Belle Gabrielle*, or by the voice of the commanders and the march of divisions to their appointed ground.

All was anxious expectation. The chiefs were conscious that a moment would decide the fate of the Bourbon dynasty ; and the troops were secretly awed at the thought of meeting in hostility the man whom they had been accustomed to obey.

On the side of Fontainebleau no sound was heard as of an army rushing to battle. If the enemy was advancing, his troops evidently moved in silence. " Perhaps his heart has failed him, and he has retreated " was the secret ardent wish of the friends of the Bourbons.

At length a light trampling of horses became audible. It approached. An open carriage attended by a few hussars and dragoons appeared on the skirts of the forest. It drove down the hills with the rapidity of lightning. It nearly reached the advanced posts, when the escort threw down their arms, and rushed forward to embrace the king's troops. Surprised at this unexpected manœuvre, the soldiers were for a moment irresolute. The carriage now reached them. The traveller was immediately recognised. "The Emperor for ever!" burst from every mouth. "Napoleon! Napoleon the Great!" spread from rank to rank; for, bareheaded, Bertrand seated at his right, and Drouet at his left, Napoleon continued his course; now waving his hand, now opening his arms to the soldiery, whom he called his friends, his companions in arms, whose honour, whose glories, whose country he now came to restore.

All discipline was forgotten, disobeyed, and insulted. The Commanders in Chief took flight. Thousands rushed on his passage. Acclamations rent the sky. At that moment his own guard descended the hill. The Imperial March was played: the eagles were once more displayed, and they whose deadly weapons were to have aimed at each other's life, embraced as brothers, and joined in universal shouts.

In the midst of these greetings, Napoleon passed

through the whole of the Royal Army, and placing himself at its head pursued his course to Paris*.

Lewis had anticipated this result, and at one o'clock on the morning of the 20th quitted Paris. He wished to have remained until the last moment, or rather to have awaited the coming of the invader; and he often repeated the noble and affecting language which he had used at the meeting of the Deputies, "Can I better terminate my career of sixty years, than by ending my life in defence of my people?" But he was at length prevailed on to depart.

This resolution was, however, so suddenly formed, and executed with such haste, that his portfolio, containing his correspondence with the Duchess D'Angouleme for many years, was found on the table in the apartment of the King; and in his

* M. Chateaubriand beautifully describes this sudden and unprecedented defection.

"Buonaparte, placed, by a strange fatality, between the coasts of France and Italy, has appeared, like Genseric, at the point to which he was called by the anger of God. He came, the hope of all those who had committed, and of all those who meditated to commit crimes;—he came, and he succeeded. Men, loaded with your bounties and decorated with your honours, kissed in the morning that royal hand which they betrayed in the evening. Rebellious subjects, bad Frenchmen, false chevaliers! scarcely had the oaths which they had proffered to you, expired on their lips, when they went, bearing the lily on their breasts, to swear perjury, if I may so speak, to him who had so often proved himself a disloyal traitor and a felon.

Report on the State of France by M. Chateaubriand.

drawers were his correspondence with Lewis XVI; a medal which he was in the daily habit of wearing, and many things calculated to compromise the safety of numerous individuals*.

Even at this late hour, a considerable crowd surrounded his carriage, and rendered him the homage of their sincere regrets. "The King for ever!" was repeated by every voice, and although too many of the Parisians had already shewn worse than indifference to the royal cause, and cries of treason had begun to be heard in every quarter of the city, yet no one dared to profane the interesting parting of the Monarch and his subjects. "Cease your tears," said he, "I shall soon return."

The Duchess of Serment was the friend of the late Queen of France, and governess of the Duchess of Angouleme. Age, sickness, and sorrow, had conspired to enfeeble her body and her mind. She had lately lost her only daughter, who was burned to death; and she was now reduced to a state which bordered on idiotism. It is the pleasing duty of the historian to record that Lewis insisted that this unfortunate lady should be accommodated in his own carriage.

* The Medal contained on one side the effigy of Lewis XVI, and on the other a female kneeling and veiled, in an attitude of grief, and holding embraced in one hand an urn resting on a pedestal, and shaded by a weeping willow. Round the effigy of the King, was the following inscription, "Lewis XVI, King of France and Navarre," and on the reverse "Lament him and avenge him."

The household troops alone had sufficient loyalty to accompany the fugitive. They escorted him to the frontiers with a fidelity which did them much credit.

Early in the morning the following proclamation was found placarded on the walls of Paris.

“ Lewis, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to our trusty and well-beloved the Peers of France, and the Deputies of the Departments:—

Divine Providence, who recalled us to the throne of our fathers, now permits that this throne should be shaken by the defection of a part of the armed force who had sworn to defend it. We might avail ourselves of the faithful and patriotic dispositions of the immense majority of the inhabitants of Paris, to dispute the entrance of the rebels into it: but we shudder at the calamities of every description which a combat within its walls would bring upon the citizens.

We retire with a few brave men whom intrigue and perfidy will not succeed in detaching from their duties; and since we cannot defend our capital, we will proceed to some distance to collect forces, and to seek at another point of the kingdom, not for subjects more loving and faithful than our good Parisians, but for Frenchmen more advantageously situated to declare themselves in favour of the good cause.

The existing crisis will subside into a calm.

We have the soothing presentiment, that those deluded soldiers, whose defection exposes our subjects to so many dangers, will soon discover their error, and will find in our indulgence, and in our affection, the recompense of their return to their duty.

We will soon return into the midst of this good people, to whom we shall once more bring peace and happiness.

For these causes we declare and ordain as follows:—

Art. 1. In virtue of the 30th article of the constitutional charter, and the 4th article of the second title of the law of the 14th of August, 1814, the session of the chamber of peers, and that of the deputies, for 1814, are declared at an end. The peers and the deputies shall forthwith separate.

2. We convoke a new session of the chamber of peers, and the session for 1815 of the deputies. The peers and the deputies of the departments shall meet at the soonest possible period, in the place which we shall point out as the provisional seat of our government. Any assembly of either chamber held elsewhere, without our authority, is from this moment declared null and illegal.

3. Our chancellor and ministers are each, in what concerns him, charged with the execution of the present proclamation, which shall be communicated to both chambers, published and posted up in Paris and in the departments, and forwarded

to all the prefects, sub-prefects, courts, and tribunals of the kingdoms.

Given at Paris the 19th of March, in the year of our Lord, 1815, and the 20th of our reign.

(Signed)

LEWIS.

By the king.

The chancellor of France, DAMBRAY."

When the departure of the king was known, astonishment and suspense seemed to have deprived the inhabitants of Paris of the power of action. All the authorities were withdrawn, yet the most perfect and mournful tranquillity, for a time, prevailed. At that moment the battle was supposed to be contesting at Melun on which depended the fate of France, and each party, fearful of committing itself too soon, anxiously awaited the result.

The bank continued its payments as usual, without one moment's interruption. Though it was an establishment of all others most sensible to the influence of political changes, it did not sustain the slightest shock.

By degrees every street and square became crowded with anxious inquirers. Every avenue to the Thuilleries was thronged. As the partisans of Lewis and Buonaparte came in contact, the most frightful scenes of confusion commenced. The friends of the King were yet numerous, and the cries of "The King for ever!" resounded from a thousand voices, but they were drowned amid the

infuriated shouts of "The Emperor for ever!" From mutual reproaches the different parties proceeded to blows, but the national guard interfered, and by its moderation and firmness prevented a dreadful effusion of blood.

About noon the national guard, at the command of their new colonel, assumed the tricoloured cockade. The triumph and approach of Buonaparte were proclaimed, and soon afterwards some of the troops who had marched out to oppose the Corsican returned bearing his colours.

It was now ludicrous to observe the activity of the shopkeepers in removing every vestige of royalty. Before evening innumerable signs prettily adorned with lilies had vanished, and a thousand eagles, appearing as it were by magic, proudly stretched their wings over the portals of the houses.

Ribbands and rings of a violet colour had long been worn by the Buonapartists, and that interesting flower had appeared in the button-hole of some of the boldest of the conspirators; but now it seemed as if the whole country had been laid under contribution, to furnish the *bouquet* which adorned every bosom, or was worn in the hat with all the ostentation of a cockade.

At two o'clock General Excelmans arrived at the Thuilleries, and relieving the national guard tore down the flag of the Bourbons and hoisted that of the usurper. This was the signal for

greater tumult. The cries of "The King for ever!" were no longer heard, but crowds of the lower classes, and principally from the suburbs, filled the squares, vociferating "The Emperor for ever!" The more respectable classes of citizens, were inactive spectators, and the national guard preserved a dead silence.

The inhabitants of the suburbs of St. Marceau and St. Antoine assembled in the Carousel, and endeavoured to force the gates which separate that square from the courts of the palace. Had they effected their purpose, the late residence of Lewis would probably have been levelled with the ground. They were, however, bravely resisted by the national guard.

At length more numerous bodies of troops began to pour in by different and opposite gates, and as almost every detachment appeared to escort several carriages, the attention of the crowd was completely occupied, and the cry was continually raised that the emperor approached.

All the general-officers then at Paris had set out early in the morning with the municipal corps, and some grand dignitaries, to meet him whom a twelvemonth ago they had branded as a tyrant; whom the day before they had stigmatised as a usurper; but whom they professed themselves eager to salute to day as their Emperor*. A long

* Well might M. Chateaubriand say "In perusing the journals of the 20th and 21st of March, we seem to be reading the

file of led horses and magnificent equipages accompanied them, destined for the use of Napoleon. He received them with apparent cordiality, but refused to accept of their carriages, and continued his journey in the same spattered vehicle which had conveyed him from Fontainebleau to Elba, and from Cannes to the neighbourhood of Paris.

Evening approached. Double files of soldiers continued to pour in at every gate, escorting numerous equipages of all descriptions. In vain the impatient crowds expected to behold the conqueror.

At nine o'clock he entered the gate *D'Enfer*, in his travelling carriage, almost without escort, and was not recognised until he had reached the Thuilleries. There he was received by his soldiers and by the populace with an enthusiasm that approached to madness. They pressed around him, eager once more to gaze upon him ; they incommoded, they endangered him.—“ My friends !” he repeatedly exclaimed, “ you will suffocate me, you will suffocate me.” His officers then forcibly opened a passage and bore him in their arms along the staircase and into the state apartments, where his sisters the Princesses Julia,

history of two different nations. In the former thirty thousand national guards, three thousand volunteers, and ten thousand students of all classes join in uttering cries of rage against the tyrant ; in the latter they all bless his appearance.”

Report of the State of France.

and Hortensia, some of his old ministers, and the officers of his household were assembled to greet him with an affectionate welcome.

A battalion of officers bivouacked round the Thuilleries, and did the duty of the palace.

The weather had hitherto been clouded and rainy, but by a curious coincidence, which the superstitious Parisians did not fail to remark, the entry of the grand actor in this strange scene was at the close of a beautiful day. The night was still and bright, and the whole population, actuated by different sentiments, crowded to the Thuilleries.

Thus was accomplished a revolution of which the annals of the world do not afford a parallel. It resembled more a theatrical illusion, than an actual course of events;—a romance of the imagination, more than the positive atchievement of human faculties.

A periodical writer has given the following eloquent and judicious description of it.

“ The journey of Buonaparte (for the military term *march* would be misplaced) from Cannes to Paris, was without parallel in history, and much beyond the limits of probable fiction. Every soldier sent against him joined his force. Where resistance seemed for a moment to be threatened it was disarmed by the sound of his voice. The ascendancy of a victorious leader over soldiers; the talent of moving armed multitudes by a word;

the inextinguishable attachment of an army to him in whom its glory is concentrated and embodied, were never before so brilliantly and tremendously exemplified. Civilized society was never before so terribly warned of the force of those military virtues, which are the greatest of civil vices. In twenty days he found himself quietly seated on the throne of France, without having spilled a drop of blood. The change had no resemblance to a revolution in an European country, where great bodies of men are interested in the preservation of authority, and where every body takes some interest for or against political mutation. It had nothing of the violence of a popular revolt. It was a bloodless and orderly military sedition. In the levity with which authority was transferred, it bore some resemblance to an oriental revolution: but the total absence of those great characteristic features, the murder and imprisonment of princes, destroyed the likeness. It is, in short, an event of which the scene could have been laid by a romance writer, bold enough to have imagined it, in no other time and country than France in the year 1815*."

* Edinburgh Review, No. 48, page 513.

CHAPTER V.

Declaration of the Congress at Vienna.—Attempt to carry off the King of Rome.—Treaty of the 25th of March.—Preparations for War.

THE representatives of the European powers assembled in Congress at Vienna had closed their deliberations. They had agreed on the several equivalents, compensations, and indemnities to which each was entitled, or, in other words, they had arranged the various territories on which each was to seize and annex to his dominions. The four principal powers had gained all that they wished, or, at least, as much as the jealousy or the policy of their neighbours would permit them to appropriate to themselves; and the sovereigns had announced their departure for their respective capitals, when the intelligence of the landing of Buonaparte at Frejus unexpectedly burst upon them.

To the undisguised astonishment with which every statesman was at first overwhelmed, succeeded apprehension and dismay. It is true that the force which he had brought with him from Elba was feeble and contemptible, but they

knew not how soon the discontented soldiery of France might flock around his standard, and enable him once more to menace the peace of Europe. They knew nothing of his professed change of principles, his newly acquired moderation, and his renunciation of all those schemes of conquest and universal empire for which alone he seemed to live. They only knew that he had broken the treaty of Fontainebleau which they had pledged themselves to guarantee; that at the head of an armed force he was seeking to regain the throne which they had compelled him to abdicate, and they had reason to fear that, successful in this enterprise, he would disregard the treaties by which Lewis was bound, and which rendered France no longer an object of suspicion and terror to Europe, and that the result of all their deliberations would be endangered or destroyed. It was therefore necessary, by some prompt and unequivocal manifesto, to declare their resolution to oppose him with their united forces.

The intelligence that he had quitted Elba arrived at Vienna on the 7th, and four days of anxiety and suspense passed over before they learned his real destination. On the 11th a despatch was received by Talleyrand announcing his landing at Frejus, and on the 13th the following declaration was published.

DECLARATION.

“The powers who have signed the treaty of

Paris, assembled at the congress of Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity, and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them.

By thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Buonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended ; and, by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

The powers consequently declare, That Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations ; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.

They declare at the same time, that, firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not

again be troubled ; and to provide against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.

“ And although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium, all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare, that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the King of France and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it.

“ The present declaration, inserted in the register of the congress assembled at Vienna on the 13th of March, 1815, shall be made public.

Done and attested by the plenipotentiaries of the high powers who signed the treaty of Paris, Vienna, March 13, 1815.

Here follow the signature in the alphabetical order of the courts.—

Austria Prince Metternich

Baron Wessenberg

France Prince Talleyrand

The Duke of Dalberg

France Latour du Pin

Great Britain . . Wellington

Clancarty

Cathcart

Stewart

Portugal Count Pamella Saldonha Lobe

Prussia Prince Hardenberg

Baron Humboldt

Russia Count Rasumowsky

Count Staeckelberg

Count Nesselrode

Spain P. Gomez Labrador

Sweden Laemenhelm.

It were to be wished that this declaration had not been expressed in terms so rancorous and savage ; terms which suited more an assembly of feudal chieftains than the polished statesmen of modern Europe—terms which plainly contained a provocation to assassination, and disgracefully leagued the stiletto of the bandit, with the unstained sword of the soldier. But the propriety of a declaration couched in the strongest terms which decency would warrant, cannot for a moment be doubted.

The return of Buonaparte to France at the head of an armed force, had annulled all the rights which the treaty of Fontainebleau had given him, and had again placed him in a state of hostility with the coalesced powers. Until he had shewn that the treaty had been previously violated on

the part of the allies, and he was again acknowledged by the French, and re-invested by them with the sovereignty, he was a mere brigand chief; not indeed the proper subject of private assassination, but amenable to the legal vengeance of the country which he had invaded.

Much as Europe had suffered from the unrestrained ambition of this man, and from the perverted and restless character of the French army, it was politic in those who had been the means of delivering Europe, promptly to declare against the first attempt, however impotent, to revive the system which they had overthrown. And, as it had been whispered that there were considerable misunderstandings between the principal courts; and Buonaparte had affirmed that he was secretly supported by some of the allied powers,—that Austria was his assured friend,—that his return would be immediately followed by that of the Empress, and the King of Rome,—and that England and Russia, tired of war, were indisposed to interfere in a quarrel in which they had no concern; it was necessary for the members of the congress to convince the world by some solemn and striking proceeding that they were determined to complete and consolidate the work which they had begun, and that they were ready to combat against every one as a common enemy who should threaten by a new war, or a new revolution to disturb the general peace of Europe.

The zeal of the allied potentates was not confined to mere declarations. On the very evening of the arrival at Vienna of the intelligence of the landing of Buonaparte, a courier was despatched by the Emperor Alexander to Petersburg, to order the immediate march of the imperial guard; and messengers were soon afterwards sent to the dominions of all the princes with instructions to commence the most active preparations, and to march every disposable soldier to the frontiers of France.

At this time an event occurred at Vienna which caused considerable sensation. Several persons arrived in the villages near Schoenbrunn, the residence of the little Ex-king of Rome. Among them was Count Montesquiou, a near relative of the governess of the child. He contrived to gain admittance into the palace, under the pretence of visiting his aunt; and corrupting some of the domestics, he formed the plan of carrying off the son of Napoleon. The time was appointed.—Carriages were ordered to be in waiting, and relays were bespoken at every post to the very frontiers of France.

A chambermaid overheard some suspicious language from one of the women who attended on the young prince, and immediately hastened to the imperial palace to put the court on its guard. In the meantime, the police had been informed of the whole plot, and suffered it to proceed to

the last moment, that they might secure all the accomplices.

Every thing was prepared. A maid had the little Napoleon in her arms, and, attended by one of the chief of the conspirators, was just stepping into the carriage, when the officers appeared, and the whole band was arrested.

It was probably with the hope of the success of this plot, that Napoleon had so diligently disseminated the account that the King of Rome and his mother would soon arrive at Paris.

On the 25th of March, before the arrival of Buonaparte in the French capital was known at Vienna, but after it had appeared evident that no effectual resistance could be opposed to him, the following treaty was entered into by the allied powers.

“ His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, having taken into consideration the consequences which the invasion of France by Napoleon Buonaparte, and the actual situation of that kingdom may produce with respect to the safety of Europe, have resolved, in conjunction with their Majesties the Emperors of Russia and Austria, to apply to that important circumstance the principles consecrated by the treaty of Chaumont.

They have consequently resolved to renew by a solemn treaty, signed separately by each of the four powers with each of the three others, the

engagement to preserve against every attack the order of things so happily established in Europe, and to determine upon the most effectual means of fulfilling that engagement, as well as giving it all the extension which the present circumstances so imperiously call for.

Art. 1. The high contracting parties above mentioned solemnly engage to unite the resources of their respective states, for the purpose of maintaining entire the conditions of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris, the 30th of May, 1814, as also the stipulations determined upon and signed at the congress of Vienna, with the view to complete the disposition of that treaty, to preserve them against all infringement, and particularly against the designs of Napoleon Buonaparte. For this purpose they engage, in the spirit of the declaration of the 13th March last, to direct in common, and with one accord, should the case require it, all their efforts against him, and against all those who may already have joined his faction, or shall hereafter join it, in order to force him to desist from his projects, and to render him unable to disturb in future the tranquillity of Europe and the general peace, under the protection of which, the rights, the liberty, and the independence of nations had been recently placed and secured.

2. Although the means destined for the attainment of so great and salutary an object, ought

not to be subjected to limitation, and although the high contracting parties are resolved to devote thereto all those means which in their respective situations they are enabled to dispose of; they have, nevertheless, agreed to keep constantly in the field each a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men complete, including cavalry in the proportion of at least one-tenth, and a just proportion of artillery, not reckoning garrisons, and to employ the same actively and conjointly against the common enemy.

3. The high contracting parties reciprocally engage, not to lay down their arms but by common consent, nor before the object of the war, designated in the first article of the present treaty, shall have been attained, nor until Buonaparte shall have been rendered absolutely unable to create disturbance, and to renew his attempts to possess himself of the supreme power in France.

4. The present treaty being principally applicable to the present circumstances, the stipulations of the treaty of Chaumont, and particularly those contained in the sixteenth article of the same, shall be again in force as soon as the object actually in view shall have been attained.

5. Whatever relates to the command of the combined armies, to supplies, &c., shall be regulated by a particular convention.

6. The high contracting parties shall be al-

lowed respectively to accredit to the generals commanding their armies, officers who shall have the liberty of corresponding with their governments, for the purpose of giving information of military events, and of every thing relating to the operations of the armies.

7. The engagements entered into by the present treaty having for their object the maintenance of the general peace, the high contracting parties agree to invite all the powers of Europe to accede to the same.

8. The present treaty having no other end in view but to support France, or any other country which may be invaded, against the enterprises of Buonaparte and his adherents, his Most Christian Majesty shall be specially invited to accede hereunto ; and in the event of his majesty requiring the forces stipulated in the second article, to make known what assistance circumstances will allow him to bring forward in furtherance of the object of the present treaty.

Separate Article. As circumstances might prevent his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from keeping constantly in the field the number of troops specified in the second Article, it is agreed that his Britannic Majesty shall have the option, either of furnishing his contingent in men, or of paying at the rate of thirty pounds sterling per annum for each cavalry soldier, and twenty pounds per annum for

each infantry soldier that may be wanting to complete the number stipulated in the second Article.

In testimony whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed the same."

The 8th Article of the treaty which invites the accession of the king of France, seemed to include a determination in the Allies, not merely to attack the usurped power of Buonaparte, but to reinstate the Bourbons on the throne, thus interfering with or denying the right of the French to choose their own form of government.

To force any particular dynasty or form of government on a people is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the British constitution, and the liberal policy on which it has been the pride of England ever to act : when, therefore, the ratification of the treaty by the Prince Regent was sent to Vienna, the following explanatory declaration accompanied it,—a declaration highly honourable to the British government.

DECLARATION.

The Undersigned, on the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of the 25th of March last, on the part of his Court, is hereby commanded to declare, that the 8th Article of the said Treaty, wherein his Most Christian Majesty is invited to accede under certain stipulations, is to be understood as binding the Contracting Parties upon principles of mutual security, to a common effort

against the power of Napoleon Buonaparte, in pursuance of the 3d Article of the said Treaty, but is not to be understood as binding his Britannic Majesty to prosecute the war, with a view of imposing upon France any particular government.

However solicitous the Prince Regent must be to see his Most Christian Majesty restored to the throne, and however anxious he is to contribute, in conjunction with his Allies, to so auspicious an event, he nevertheless deems himself called upon to make this declaration on the exchange of the ratifications, as well in consideration of what is due to his Most Christian Majesty's interests in France, as in conformity to the principles upon which the British government has invariably regulated its conduct."

Had it not been for this 8th objectionable article, the policy of the Allies in limiting their interference to the simple exclusion of Buonaparte was much to be commended, and was calculated to ensure the ultimate success of their undertaking. It was putting it to the proof whether the French preferred him with a war to any other chief without one. Unfortunately it was the prevailing opinion in France that the object of the coalesced powers was to support the cause of divine and hereditary right, and that it was more a crusade against the principle, that the people possess the right of judging for themselves, than a confederacy against the talents and ambition of Napoleon. This

opinion, perhaps, was not altogether unfounded ; for though it will presently be attempted to be proved that war with Napoleon was justifiable, and even necessary, yet the conduct of some of the allied sovereigns has inclined many reflecting men to suspect that their motives were not absolutely pure.

A notification was sent from Vienna on the part of the continental sovereigns (who unluckily had neither money nor credit), that although the treaty contained the expression of their ardent wishes and settled determination, they were utterly unable to act with effect against the common enemy, unless Great Britain would afford the necessary subsidies. Russia confessed that such was the disposition and political state of Poland, that not a regiment could advance thence unless its place was supplied by fresh troops from the interior. Prussia could place no dependence on the Saxon troops, or on the population of Saxony, whom a considerable army must be employed in observing, and therefore required an immediate subsidy to raise and equip new regiments : and Austria, threatened with a war in Italy which would employ all her usual resources, could not furnish her contingent without the assistance of a considerable sum.

The appeal was not made in vain. The British ministry was determined on war ; and England was once more compelled to pay her mercenary,

and often faithless allies for fighting their own battles, and defending their own cause. A subsidy of five millions was immediately granted, to be divided into equal proportions among the three great powers, and to be paid by monthly instalments. Excuses were not wanting soon to increase this enormous sum, and to drain from Britain every guinea which she could afford, or could be cajoled to give.

Being thus furnished with the sinews of war, the exertions of the continental powers were unbounded. Every road was thronged with troops hastening by forced marches to the Sambre and the Rhine. One corps followed another in endless succession, and the whole population of Europe seemed to have risen in arms to overwhelm and destroy the disturber of their peace. The congress was removed from Vienna to Francfort, a city conveniently situated near the probable theatre of war.

On the 5th of April the Emperor Alexander reviewed a considerable body of Russian troops, and addressed them in the following terms.

“ Brave warriors! the honour and the glory of the great empire, with which Providence has intrusted me! your Emperor comes once more to place himself at your head. He summons you a second time to the defence of humanity and the common rights of Europe, which Napoleon, the

vile and criminal artificer of fraud, has dared again to threaten. Abusing our clemency, and violating those treaties which ensured to him a sacred asylum, the perjurer has succeeded in deceiving anew the hopes of those nations who had forgotten his atrocious cruelties and his insatiable ambition. Let us hasten to join the invincible phalanxes of our allies, and deliver France from the eternal scourge of the human race, who once more governs it contrary to the wishes of every reasonable and peaceable inhabitant of that country.

Soldiers! the sacred league which at present unites all the people of Europe, and which ought to guarantee them from all oppression, we know how to defend, and we will defend it, if necessary, to the last drop of our blood.

Alexander is among you. You will always see him choose the path of true honour, that which leads to the happiness of mankind. This will entitle him to your confidence and love."

Scarcely had the monarch ceased speaking, when the shouts of 'Long live Alexander the Great,' and 'Death to the tyrant,' spread from rank to rank.

If we excuse the not very courtly names that are applied to Napoleon, this speech is certainly creditable to Alexander, and contains some sentiments which, if they characterized the govern-

ment of his own empire, would render that inhospitable clime the abode of liberty, virtue, and happiness*.

* The historian has given this specimen of imperial eloquence on the authority of the "Bulletin de Paris." If the reader has some little doubt of its authenticity, the document with which he is presented in this note, will probably appear more apochryphal. It first appeared in the Piedmontese Gazette, and is quoted as authentic in the publication just referred to. It is said to have been written by Alexander himself, and is inserted here as a curious specimen of royal correspondence. The frank acknowledgment of the grand error of the former campaign is honourable to the candour of the writer. This letter is likewise important, if genuine, as containing a developement of the real intentions of the Allies again to force the Bourbons on the French.

"My Dear Brother and worthy Ally.

Providence, who sports with the designs of men, has permitted the peace of Europe, for which, a few months ago, we made so many sacrifices, to be again disturbed by Napoleon Buonaparte, who owes his political existence to our generosity, and his life to our clemency. Because we were unwilling to accustom the people to see the blood even of those who had governed illegitimately flow, we determined to observe scrupulously the articles of the treaty of Fontainebleau. But I reproach myself with having been the involuntary cause of all the evils which threaten to overwhelm your unhappy kingdom. Had I not listened to the suggestions of a false delicacy, you would not have been compelled to abandon your people and your capital, and the league which we have renewed by a solemn oath, would not have been necessary.

Unhappy monarch! will your people be always blinded by the delusions of a revolution which has cost them so much blood and so many tears? Will Frenchmen refuse to render homage to the King of France?

The following proclamation of the King of Prussia breathes a noble spirit :

“ When in the hour of danger I called my

That people so enlightened and once so generous and magnanimous, can it prefer the government of Napoleon Buonaparte, to the legitimate authority of a father, and the sincere love of a descendant of the Great Henry ?

No ! Every good Frenchman laments your absence, and sighs for the return of its sovereign, that affectionate parent who alone can restore to it peace and prosperity, and reconcile it with every civilized nation.

My arms, and those of coalesced Europe, are ready to enter into your kingdom under your immediate command. We shall all combat under one and the same standard, that of the lilies. That banner without spot will not be dishonoured by us. In France we shall feel and act like Frenchmen. Your people will be regarded by us as brothers. We will soften as much as may be in our power the inconveniencies and sufferings which an army of eight hundred thousand men must necessarily bring in its train. It is important for us not to alienate the hearts of your subjects, and not to restore to you a crown which has cost them many sacrifices. But if Frenchmen should be found sufficiently blind to oppose our progress, we have determined no longer to listen to the voice of clemency, but once for all to purge France from those ambitious men, who wish to perpetuate the troubles of Europe.

Our cause is that of Heaven, because it is that of justice. To render to the world the repose after which it sighs, and to render that repose solid and durable,—to restore to all sovereigns their rights and prerogatives,—and to you my respected brother, your crown and your dominions, this is the object of our enterprise, and we have sworn that we will not lay down our arms till that object be attained.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

Dated Schoenbrunn, April 10, 1815.

people to arms to combat for the freedom and independence of their country, the whole mass of the youth, glowing with emulation, thronged round my standards to bear with joyful self-denial unusual hardships, and resolved to brave death itself. Then the best strength of the people intrepidly joined the ranks of my brave soldiers, and my generals led with me into battle a host of heroes, who have shewn themselves worthy of the names of their fathers, and heirs of their glory. Thus we and our allies, attended by victory, conquered the capital of our enemy. Our banners waved in Paris. Napoleon abandoned his authority. Liberty was restored to Germany, security to thrones, and to the world the hope of a durable peace. This hope is vanished. We must again march to the combat. A perfidious conspiracy has brought back to France the man who for ten successive years inflicted on the world unutterable misery. The people confounded have not been able to oppose his armed adherents. Though he, while still at the head of a considerable armed force declared his abdication to be a voluntary sacrifice to the happiness and repose of France, he now regards this, like every other convention, as nothing. He commands a horde of perjured soldiers who wish to render war eternal.

Europe is again threatened. It cannot suffer the man to remain on the throne of France, who loudly proclaimed universal empire to be the

object of his continually renewed wars; who confounded all moral principles by his unceasing breach of faith, and who can therefore give the world no security for his peaceable intentions.

Again therefore arise to the combat. France itself needs our aid, and all Europe is allied with us. United with your ancient companions in victory, and reinforced by the accession of new brethren in arms, you go, brave Prussians! to a just war, with me, with the princes of my family, and with the generals who have always led you to victory.

The justice of the cause we defend will ensure our success. Arise then, with God for your support, for the repose of the world, for order, for morality, for your king and your country."

CHAP. VII.

Journey of the King to Ostend.—Imminent Danger to which he was exposed.—Unsuccessful Mission of the Duke of Bourbon to La Vendée.—Heroic Behaviour of the Duchess of Angouleme at Bourdeaux.—Surrender of the Duke of Angouleme.

ON the 20th of March at five o'clock in the afternoon, the King arrived at Abbeville without any military escort. There he proposed to wait for the household troops which followed, commanded by Marshal Macdonald. His calm and dignified appearance disarmed the rancour of every Buonapartist, and the inhabitants received him with acclamations. The King attempted to address them from the window of the house at which he lodged, but his feelings overpowered him. He pressed his hand on his heart, bowed and withdrew.

The military who lined every street maintained a deep silence. They respected the virtues of the monarch too much to insult him in his misfortunes; but when they returned to their barracks they enthusiastically shouted "The Emperor for ever!"

His Majesty was much fatigued, but ere he had tasted the repose which was so necessary, Macdonald appeared and urged him to proceed on his journey without delay, alledging that from what he had seen of the disposition of the garrison, he would not answer for the consequences, should the household troops arrive before he quitted the place. The King reluctantly ascended his carriage, oppressed by much mental and bodily pain.

On the 22d at one o'clock he arrived at Lisle, where he had determined to collect around him all who were faithful to his cause, and await the result of the invader's attempt. The scene at Abbeville was repeated. A considerable proportion of the inhabitants welcomed him with enthusiasm, but the garrison, which consisted of several regiments, preserved a sullen and obstinate silence. The King would have addressed them, and endeavoured to recall them to the allegiance which they owed their legitimate sovereign, but he was entreated not to expose himself to unnecessary insult and danger. Lewis would then have dismissed them from Lisle, and permitted them to march and join Napoleon, but he was assured by Marshal Mortier that this would be the signal for revolt, and probably for some outrageous attempt against his person.

Marshal Mortier had been deceived in the character of the garrison, and had acted exceedingly imprudently. It was only a few days before

that he had ordered these regiments to return to Lisle, whence they had been lately removed. Buonaparte, in his official papers, afterwards hinted that this manœuvre had been purposely effected to prevent the occupation of Lisle by the household troops, and to preserve the town for the Emperor. But the historian is unwilling to attribute such deliberate treachery to an officer of Mortier's high reputation, and who now professed such devoted attachment to the King.

Had it not been for this unfortunate measure, Lewis might have found an asylum for a little while on the French territory. The national guards, the household troops, and the patriotism of the inhabitants would have afforded him effectual security. But this would have kindled the torch of civil war, and exposed his country to aggravated and probably useless sufferings.

On the same day, the declaration of the Congress at Vienna was received. The King immediately ordered it to be placarded on the walls, and distributed among the soldiers, that they might perceive what would be the fatal consequences of their treason, and the inevitable calamities which they would bring on their country. But this, far from alarming the troops, or disposing them to return to their duty, exasperated them to the utmost, and they formed the sudden and desperate resolution of seizing on the person of the King, and carrying him prisoner to the camp of Napoleon.

News now arrived that the Duke of Berri approached with the household troops and two Swiss regiments. The garrison no sooner heard this, than they assembled tumultuously, and seemed ready to execute their daring purpose. Mortier hastened to his majesty, and urged his immediate departure, declaring that he dreaded the result if that departure was delayed a single hour. In half an hour Lewis was on his journey towards Ostend. Mortier accompanied him to the gates of the town, and immediately returned with the Duke of Orleans to endeavour to restrain the violence of the troops. He found them enraged at being disappointed of their prey. They fiercely attacked the Duke of Orleans, and it was with the greatest difficulty, and at the hazard of his own life, that Mortier rescued him from their fury.

The household troops passed through Abbeville in their journey towards Lisle. The impetuosity of the Duke of Berri had there nearly proved fatal to him. A regiment of chasseurs was in garrison in the city. As the duke rode along the ranks, and endeavoured to recall the soldiers to the loyalty which they owed their sovereign, he was exasperated at the obstinacy with which they continued to shout "The Emperor for ever!" One of the officers particularly distinguished himself. The Duke of Berri in a momentary transport of passion struck him. The officer immediately quitted the ranks and charged

upon him ; but the other officers threw themselves before him, and rescued the duke from his attack. It was deemed prudent for the royal party to resume their march without delay*.

Being informed that his Majesty had quitted Lisle, they determined not to enter the town, and this determination probably prevented a dreadful effusion of human blood.

Turning from Lisle they directed their course towards the frontiers, but many of them being unable to support the fatiguing rapidity of the march, were dismissed at Bethune; and those who reached the frontiers declared to the few officers who were desirous to take them further, that they were Frenchmen;—that they had sufficiently fulfilled their duty to their prince,—that their dearest interests were at stake, and that nothing should induce them to pass the frontiers. They accordingly returned to Bethune.

* The following account of this transaction, published by royal authority, affords a curious specimen of the different ways of telling the same story.

While the Duke of Berri was at Bethune, a corps of lancers arrived at one of the gates of the town. He rode up to them and ordered them to form in order of battle. One of the lancers called out ‘The Emperor for ever!’ The duke put his hand on his sword; the lancer had the audacity to put his to his sabre. His royal highness, in a manner worthy of him, immediately rushed forward, and opening his breast, said “Traitor! strike if you dare the heart of a Bourbon.” The latter immediately fell at his feet and exclaimed, “The Duke of Berri for ever!”

On the 24th Lewis arrived at Ostend completely enfeebled by anxiety, disease, and fatigue. He was accompanied by a few officers only. The next day he publicly attended mass, but he looked very ill and depressed. At the close of the service the congregation respectfully waited till his Majesty rose to quit the church, and as he passed along the aisles, rendered him the unfeigned homage of their tears.

The Duke of Bourbon, the most popular of all the French princes, except perhaps the Duke of Orleans, betook himself to La Vendée to endeavour to rouse the dormant affections of the friends of royalty in that district. The people were disposed to second his views, but he had to contend with the prompt and vigilant administration of Napoleon. On his arrival at Beaupriere, he summoned the inhabitants, and powerfully and successfully appealing to their best feelings, engaged them to sanction a proclamation requiring every man from eighteen to fifty years of age to take up arms in the royal cause. Great numbers immediately flocked to his standard, but they were unarmed and undisciplined, and ere they could be rendered effective the troops of Buonaparte advanced against them. The general of Napoleon, acting under the express orders of his master to avoid as much as possible the dreadful appeal to arms, despatched a herald to the duke, to remonstrate with him on the folly of opposing his

raw and hasty levies against the veteran troops which were marching upon him, and offering an amnesty to his followers, and passports for himself and all who chose to accompany him, if he would abandon the enterprise. After mature consideration, the duke was convinced of the inutility of resistance, and receiving safe conduct for himself and forty of his officers, proceeded to Nantes where he embarked.

The Duke and Duchess of Angouleme were at Bourdeaux. The inhabitants of the maritime towns had suffered most by the protracted wars of the revolution. Their population had been thinned; their commerce had been destroyed, and they were almost driven to despair. They therefore welcomed the return of the Bourbons with the utmost enthusiasm. The Duke of Angouleme had lately visited all the southern provinces, and had inspected the fortifications of Bourdeaux, and the Bordelese had expressed great anxiety to see among them the daughter of their former revered sovereign.

On the 2d of March the duke and duchess arrived at Bourdeaux. They were received with cries of joy, and with the ardent benedictions of a countless multitude which had poured in from every neighbouring town.

On the 5th a fête was given by the merchants. In the midst of the festivities a courier arrived with despatches for the duke, containing the fear-

ful intelligence of the landing of Napoleon. His royal highness was unwilling to throw a damp on the public joy, and concealed the purport of the letters, deferring until night his departure for the south, where he imagined his presence might be necessary. At midnight he quitted the city.

In the morning the Duchess communicated the news to the magistrates, and in the course of the day the intelligence was made public through the city. On the following day all the civil and military authorities came, uninvited, to offer their protestations of attachment, and to renew their oaths of fidelity. The national guards were called out. Places were appointed for the enrolment of volunteers, and almost the whole population of the town demanded arms, some to defend their native city should it be attacked, and others, eager to march to the most distant department against the invader. The officers of the troops of the line declared that they would answer with their heads for the garrison of Bourdeaux and the neighbouring forts.

Meanwhile the news became more disquieting. Buonaparte had advanced unresisted to Lyons. The national guards and volunteers were more eager in their professions of ardent devotion, but arms and ammunition were wanting, and only a few hundreds could be regularly embodied. As the progress of the invader became known, the zeal

of the troops of the line evidently cooled, and cries of sedition began to be heard in some of the barracks.

The superior officers, however, daily waited on the Princess and renewed their assurances of loyalty; but she remarked that the commandant of the fort of Blaye, an important out-post, had not appeared during some days. Orders were sent to require his attendance. Two days passed and he came not. A general was then despatched to examine the state of the fortress, and report the disposition of the garrison. He returned and reported, that the place was in an excellent state of defence. "But why," asked the Duchess "did he not obey the orders which were transmitted to him several days ago, and repair hither?" "He did not answer me on that point," said the general, "but he will be here to-morrow."

On the morrow he appeared. He offered a slight apology for his apparent disobedience; and being required to renew his oath of fidelity, muttered some indistinct and unmeaning sounds, with which the Duchess, unwilling to proceed to extremities, thought it prudent to appear satisfied. She, however, consulted with the governor of Bourdeaux on the propriety of removing the present commandant from Fort Blaye, and replacing him and his troop by others on whom she could rely. The governor acknowledged that this was

desirable, but hinted that it was absolutely impracticable. He was ordered to attempt it.

To have despatched a battalion of the line to dispossess their brethren would have afforded them an opportunity of shewing that disaffection, which he suspected they secretly cherished. The affair was therefore committed to some national guards; a sufficient number of whom were sent to occupy the fort for a short time, but not enough to attempt the reduction of the place, should the garrison attempt resistance. This prudent measure prevented the effusion of blood, and probably preserved the city from destruction. The national guards were refused admittance to the fortress, on which the tri-coloured flag was now hoisted, and they returned peaceably to Bourdeaux.

At that period M. Lainé, the president of the chamber of deputies, arrived. He immediately published the following proclamation. The spirit of patriotism which it breathes demands that it should be rescued from oblivion.

“ In the name of the French nation, and as President of the chamber of deputies, I enter my protest against the decrees by which the usurper of France pretends to pronounce the dissolution of the chambers. I declare in consequence that all the proprietors are released from the payment of contributions to the agents of Napoleon

Buonaparte, and that every family is forbidden to assist him in raising any armed force, whether by means of conscription or enlistment.

After so atrocious an attempt on the liberties of Frenchmen, it becomes the duty of all to maintain individually their rights. Long ago released from their oaths to Napoleon Buonaparte, and bound by their vows and their oaths to their country and king, they will render themselves odious in the eyes of the nation and of posterity if they use not every means in their power to oppose and to defeat the invader. History, by preserving the lasting memory of those who in every country have refused to bend to tyranny, covers with shame and disgrace the citizens who, forgetful of the dignity of human nature, submit to be the miserable agents of despotism.

In the persuasion that the French are sufficiently impressed with the importance of their liberties and their rights, to impose on themselves the most sacred of all duties, I have published the present protestation, which, in the name of the honourable colleagues over whom I have presided, and France whom they represent, will be deposited in the archives, to be produced when necessary to the confusion of the tyrant.

P. S. Having read in the hall of sitting the proclamation of the King on the 20th of March, at the moment when the soldiers of Napoleon Buonaparte entered Paris, I am arrived at the

department which deputed me. I am at my post under the orders of the Duchess of Angouleme, occupied in preserving the honour and liberty of one part of France, and anxiously waiting until the rest shall be delivered from the most odious tyranny which ever menaced a great nation. I will never submit to Napoleon Buonaparte; and he, who has been honoured with the situation of president of the representatives of France, aspires to the honour of being the first victim of the enemy of his king, his country, and liberty."

Encouraged by his spirited assistance, the Duchess redoubled her efforts to inspire the Bordelese with loyalty, and to place the town in a posture of defence. A magazine of arms was at length discovered, and numerous bands of volunteers were equipped, who were animated by the best spirit, and who loudly expressed their determination to defend the city to the last extremity.

General Clausel, commanding the troops of Napoleon, now approached. Picquets were sent out to guard the bridges which were situated on the principal roads; but some of them fled after a short resistance, and the rest went over to the enemy.

The Duchess summoned the governor in great haste, and, willing to spare the town from the horrors of a bombardment or a siege, declared her resolution to march out at the head of the

garrison, and attack the foe. Against this the governor warmly remonstrated, assuring her that he could not answer for the fidelity of the troops. "Then," replied she, "the national guards and volunteers are sufficient. They are eager for the combat, and on their good resolution I can surely rely." It was answered, that if the national guard and volunteers passed the river, the garrison would follow, and placing them between two fires, cut off every man. The Duchess hesitated. "Is it then," said she, "impossible to employ, or even to rely on the neutrality of that garrison, for the fidelity of which you pledged yourself so lately?" "Impossible." "I will satisfy myself," said the heroic princess. "Assemble your troops in their respective barracks." The governor in vain represented the danger of this proceeding. "I did not ask you, sir!" said she, "if there would be danger. I only require you to obey my orders."

She alighted at the barrack of a regiment of infantry, and, placing herself in the centre of the square, addressed the troops. She painted in lively colours the character and designs of the invader, and the dangers which threatened France. She reminded them of the oath which they had taken, and urged them to share with the national guards in the honour of combatting the rebels. A mournful silence succeeded.

Again she addressed them, "Will you not fight

for the daughter of your king?" "No! no!" resounded from every rank. "Will you then remain neutral if the national guard and volunteers advance to the attack?" "No!" they again replied. The Princess burst into tears. "Will you then betray me, and give me up to my enemies?" "No!" said they, "but we do not wish for a civil war, and we desire you to quit France."

Although foiled in her first attempt, the Princess would not despair. She proceeded to the barracks of the other troops; but her eloquence was exerted without effect; her tears flowed in vain. One officer alone yielded to the call of honour. "This is too much!" said he; and sheathing his sword he placed himself by the side of the duchess and exclaimed, "I will follow you every where."

Seeing that resistance would now be unavailing, her next care was to preserve the town from pillage. She hastily returned to the quay on which the guards and volunteers were assembled. They received her with enthusiastic shouts and eagerly demanded to be led against the foe. Silence was at length procured, when she thus addressed them, "Swear all to obey me!" "We swear," was the unanimous reply. "Brave Frenchmen!" she continued, "faithful Bordelaise! I entreat you to think no longer of defending the city, you are not supported by the troops, and your efforts will be useless."

The troops of General Clausel were at this moment drawn up on the other side of the river. The guards and volunteers, as if actuated by one impulse, fired on them a volley. Fortunately it did no execution and was not returned. "You have sworn to obey me," exclaimed the Duchess. "Remain faithful to your oath. If there be any disgrace it will fall on me. I will be answerable to the king and to France. The sacrifice which I require of you is as terrible to my heart as to yours; but it is the only means of saving the city." With difficulty she was allowed to depart, and she returned to the palace.

She had no sooner quitted them, than the utmost confusion prevailed, and some of the national guards, irritated to madness, fired on their officers who they suspected had betrayed them. Two or three lives were now lost.

A herald was immediately despatched to General Clausel, entreating him to suspend his attack, as the Princess was preparing to depart. He readily consented, and guaranteed the safety of the city. The Duchess prepared for her departure on the following night. But new alarms succeeded every moment, and the fermentation increased among the volunteers. Crowds of people with green cockades ran through the streets denouncing vengeance against the adherents of Napoleon. The national guard was ashamed to join in these tumults, but it did not repress them,

and the troops were prudently confined to their barracks.

The best friends of the royal cause now hastened to the Princess, and besought her to depart immediately. She acceded to their request, and at eight o'clock on the same evening embarked on board a small vessel which the English consul had stationed in the river for her use.

Many of the inhabitants followed her to the shore, clinging round her garments, and urging her to remain. They then besought her to bestow on them some parting token of her regard which they might treasure up with fond remembrance; and they separated, satisfied and thankful, when her shawl, her ribbands, her feathers, were cut into shreds and distributed among them.

The following proclamation was, on the next morning, found placarded on the walls,

“ Brave Bordelais!

Your fidelity is well known to me. Your devotion unlimited does not permit you to foresee any danger; but my attachment for you and for every Frenchman directs me to foresee it. My stay in your city being prolonged might aggravate circumstances, and bring down upon you the weight of vengeance. I have not the courage to behold Frenchmen unhappy, and to be the cause of their misfortunes.

I leave you, brave Bordelais! deeply penetrated with the sentiments you have expressed, and

assure you that they shall be faithfully transmitted to the King. Soon with God's assistance and under happier auspices, you shall witness my gratitude and that of the prince whom you love.

(Signed) MARIA THERESA."

General Clausel now entered the place without opposition. The garrison hoisted the tri-coloured cockade and received him with acclamations; the national guard submitted in silence; and notwithstanding the apparently universal feeling, a few hours before, in favour of the Bourbons, an immense crowd assembled round the gates and welcomed him with shouts of joy.

The Duke of Angouleme proceeded to the south of France, and for a while fortune seemed to smile on his expedition. Some regiments of the line followed him with apparent fidelity, and his little army increased to more than six thousand men. In his first encounter with the troops of Buonaparte he met with considerable success; but being betrayed by those in whom he confided; the loyalty of the troops being seduced; and numerous corps of the enemy approaching him on every side, he was constrained to surrender to General Gilly. His force was sufficiently respectable to ensure honourable conditions. An universal amnesty was granted. The lives and property of his followers were secured, and the Duke received safe convoy to Cette, where he was to embark for Spain or England.

He had scarcely set out on his journey when General Grouchy arrived, and assumed the chief command of Napoleon's troops. Imagining that the former commander had exceeded his powers, he would not permit the Duke to proceed to the place of his destination, and despatched a courier to Paris for instructions. Buonaparte could not refuse to accede to the terms which had been granted by General Gilly, without subjecting himself to the utmost opprobrium; but he adroitly seized the opportunity of giving a colour of generosity to what was merely an act of justice. He wrote the following letter to Grouchy, and without adverting to the convention already agreed on, acceded to its substance; but made the further and illegal demand, that his Royal Highness should engage to insist on the restitution of the crown jewels, which had been carried away by Lewis.

“Count Grouchy—The ordinance of the king, dated March 6, and the declaration, signed by his ministers on the 13th at Vienna might authorize me to treat the Duke of Angouleme as that ordinance and that declaration proposed to treat me and my family; but adhering to the views which induced me to order that the members of the Bourbon family should be permitted to leave France freely, my intention is, that you should give orders for conducting the Duke of Angouleme to Cette, where he shall be embarked, and

that you watch over his safety and protect him from all bad treatment. You will merely take care to recover the money which has been removed from the public chests, and to require the Duke of Angouleme to bind himself to the restitution of the crown diamonds, which are the property of the nation. You will also make known to him the enactments of the laws of the national assemblies, which are renewed, and which apply to the members of the family of Bourbon who may enter the French territory. You will, in my name, thank the national guards for the patriotism and zeal which they have manifested, and the attachment which they have shewn to me in these important circumstances.

(Signed) **NAPOLÉON.**

Palace of the Thuilleries, April 1.

CHAP. VIII.

*First Acts of Napoleon;—Review of the Troops;—
 Replies of Napoleon to various Addresses;—Free-
 dom of the Press;—Abolition of the Slave Trade;
 —Institution of a National Education;—Private
 Feelings of Buonaparte;—His justificatory Ma-
 nifesto;—Examination of it;—Defence of the
 War;—Preparations of Napoleon.*

NAPOLÉON was reinstated on the imperial throne; but much was yet to be done. The errors of the former government, and the delusions which he and his party had so industriously propagated, had alike contributed to his success. These delusions would ere long be dissipated, and all the calamities with which his return menaced France, would soon be apparent. His only hope of security lay in rallying round him the various political parties into which France was divided. To effect this purpose he had, while at Lyons, selected as his confidential ministers the heads of what was termed the republican party, but who had abandoned their extravagant notions of liberty, and had become

friendly to a limited monarchy. While they formed an efficient part of his ministry, he gave an unequivocal pledge that his government would be disgraced by no arbitrary and tyrannical measures.

On the morning of his arrival at Paris, an interview took place between him and Carnot, the consistent and fearless opposer of tyranny. Their first conversation was very singular. "You," said Napoleon, "are the only man who told me the truth before my reverses."

"Sire!" replied Carnot.

"Sire!" interrupted Napoleon with tears in his eyes, "Let me entreat you to drop that distant ceremonious word. Call me your old comrade, your friend!"

"Do you wish," continued Carnot, "that I should again speak the truth?"

"I require it."

"Well, then France will and must have a free constitution."

"I will give it her; I am determined she shall have it."

In the course of their conversation Napoleon acknowledged that he had acted wrong. He deplored the mania of conquest which had led him into such fatal excesses, and renounced the idea of the grand empire, and a military government. He, however, demanded some sacrifices from Carnot and his party. He required that

they should relinquish the sternness of the republican character; and that Carnot should accept a title of nobility, as a proof of their being content with a limited monarchy on a representative basis. To this, the man who had never unbent the rigidity of his principles, at first objected, but after a consultation with his friends, he was induced to acquiesce, and by this means all the distinctions of constitutionalists, moderates, and jacobins, united round the throne of Napoleon, from whom they expected a charter of rational liberty*.

* Carnot was the son of a respectable lawyer at Nolay. He early entered the artillery, and although he distinguished himself by several scientific publications, yet such, under the old *regime*, were the obstacles to rising merit, if unsupported by courtly patronage, that he had attained no higher rank than captain at the age of thirty-six. In 1791, he was chosen a member of the legislative assembly, and became a zealous and conscientious republican. In the following year he voted for the death of the unfortunate Lewis, and although the injustice of the sentence cannot be doubted, no one ever accused the honest intentions of Carnot. In 1793, he was sent as representative of the nation to superintend the operations of the army of the north. He there displayed his characteristic decision, by cashiering one of the generals on the field of battle, for retiring before the enemy. He then rallied the troops, placed himself at their head, and turning the fortune of the day, led them on to victory. He was afterwards appointed a member of the committee of public safety, and became a colleague of the execrable Robespierre. He, however, confined himself to the duties of his own department, and directed the movements of the armies,

How far Napoleon was sincere in his renunciation of his former despotic principles, will be discussed presently. It cannot be denied that he

without having the least concern or influence in the bloody scenes which were acting in the interior. When he did interfere it was to soften the ferocious decrees of his colleagues, and rescue the prey from the destroyer. For this he incurred the deadly hatred of Robespierre, and was devoted to destruction as soon as the war should terminate, or any reverses attend the French arms.

It has been asked, why he did not renounce all connexion with these monsters. The question is difficult to answer. It admits only of this solution, that by confining himself strictly to the war department, he was employing his unrivalled talents for the benefit of his country. No man possessed, to such an extent, the confidence of the generals, the soldiers, and the people. His administration was one uninterrupted career of brilliant victories. Had he resigned, a less able man would, probably, have filled his place, and who would have aided rather than repressed the murderous purposes of his colleagues.

After the fall of Robespierre, he exposed himself to considerable obloquy, by defending many of the agents of that monster's cruelty. He advocated the cause of Billaud Vasennes, Collet d'Herbois, and others who were a disgrace to human nature. He did this, not because he approved of their conduct, as his enemies insinuated. He had often publicly and violently accused them. It had been his unceasing aim to unmask their characters, and hurl them from the stations which they abused. But he now saw that a spirit of re-action and revenge was abroad. If these men fell, thousands would follow. The bleeding wounds of his country would again be torn open, and the horrible scenes of the worst æra of the revolution would be re-acted. He saved them from the fate which they merited, and having identified himself with them, voluntarily shared their disgrace.

succeeded in impressing on his ministry the belief that he was sincere, and with some of them that impression was permanent.

He retired from public life until 1795, when he was again appointed director. In 1797, the party to which he belonged, and who would have limited the aggrandisement of France to those limits which nature pointed out, was vanquished. Rather than plunge his country in civil war, or sanction those measures of ambition which he foresaw must be ultimately fatal to France, he exiled himself to Switzerland, though he was offered the support of the army of his virtuous friend Moreau.

When Buonaparte returned from Egypt, he remembered the talents of Carnot, and the many obligations under which he lay to him, and recalled him to power. He was once more placed at the head of the war department, and the conquest of Italy and Germany were soon the proofs of his skilful arrangements. But the ambitious character of Napoleon then began to be displayed. Carnot remonstrated with him in vain, and disdaining to be the base instrument of tyranny, again retired to the bosom of his family.

In 1802, he was chosen member of the tribunate. Here he distinguished himself as the fearless opponent of every arbitrary measure. He voted against the assumption of the consulate for life: and in 1804, after privately using every argument to dissuade Napoleon from his ambitious purpose, he stood alone in the tribunate, and opposed the motion to confer on Buonaparte the imperial dignity. "Shall we," said he, "because this man has restored the peace and prosperity of his country, reward him with the sacrifice of her best interests,—the very liberty which we are grateful to him for preserving? Shall we replace the pride and heroism of the masculine republican virtues, by ridiculous vanity and vile adulation? Shall freedom then be shewn to man that he may never enjoy it? Perpetually presented to him, is it a fruit which he may never reach?"

Carnot unequivocally declares, in his exposé of his political conduct, that he believed, and that he still believes, that the Emperor came with the

Has our common nature been so much a stepmother as to make the most pressing of all our wants, that one which we must never gratify.—No!—I will not consent to regard this greatest good, so universally prized above all others, except as one without which all others are mere illusions. My heart tells me that liberty is practicable, and that a free government is more easy, and more stable than the gloomy stillness of despotism.”

When the tribunate was suppressed in 1806, Carnot once more returned to private life, and all intercourse with Napoleon was at an end. Eight years were now spent in the pursuit of his favourite studies, and in the society of his family, and those friends who dared to brave the displeasure of the Emperor by occasionally visiting him. But when the fortunes of Napoleon were on the wane, preferring even the government of the existing tyrant to the horrors of a new revolution, he again offered his services, and spoke to him in a language so firm and frank as to astound all the servile instruments of his unbridled ambition. The letter is short, and is a model for an honest subject to his sovereign.

“SIRE!—So long as victory crowned your eagles, I kept myself to my studies in the closet, and employed myself in the education of my children. Now that she appears to abandon them, and that you have need of devotion, I hasten to offer my services. Do not disdain them, though they are those of an old soldier, above sixty years of age. He can rally round your eagles many Frenchmen, undecided as to the part which they ought to take. It is yet time, Sire! to obtain an honourable peace, and to regain the love of the people, *which you have lost.*

January, 1814.

CARNOT.”

unfeigned desire of preserving peace, and governing paternally. He traces to the pressing dangers which threatened him from the confederacy, "the extraordinary and forced measures which deviated from the line which he had traced for himself, and from that system of moderation, which he had at first announced, and which in my (Carnot's) opinion he faithfully intended to keep."

We easily delude ourselves into the belief of what we wish to be true. Although Napoleon well knew that he had deceived the French people by asserting that he was supported by the Austrians, he yet hoped that Austria would ultimately prove his friend. He could not conceive that

In forwarding this letter, Carnot said to a friend to whom he shewed it, that it would either send him to the *Chateau de Vincennes*, or give him a mark of the Emperor's confidence, which would be auspicious to the return of moderation and freedom for France.

Napoleon was pleased with this noble sincerity, and, though he could not immediately bring himself to receive his former sturdy monitor as his confidential minister, intrusted him with the defence of Antwerp. Carnot soon rendered the town impregnable, and continued to hold it until the complete re-establishment of Lewis, when he surrendered it to him and adhered to the constitutional charter. Lewis offered him a place of honour and confidence, but perceiving, or fancying that he perceived a determination in the court to break the conditions on which the royal family was restored, he declined all connexion with the Bourbons.

Maria Louisa and her son were not certain pledges of an alliance which had only been broken by a momentary exasperation. His ministers partook of these sentiments, and flattered themselves with the hope that the disasters of their country were at an end; and that they should at length be permitted to enjoy that rational liberty for which they had contended so long, and sacrificed so much. They hoped that the powers of Europe would leave them, as they had often protested they would, to choose the government which suited them, provided they remained faithful to the stipulations of the treaty of Paris.

They were overwhelmed with surprise and dismay when, on the very day in which they had entered on the functions of their office, the declaration of the allies arrived at Paris. At first they doubted its authenticity, and the unusual and ferocious style in which it was composed warranted their doubts. But when the proofs of its genuineness crowded upon them, they saw the precipice on which they tottered. They had, however, proceeded too far to retreat. They had bound themselves to the fate of Napoleon. They were shocked at the glaring proof of his duplicity which this manifesto unfolded, and they feared that all his protestations of moderation and patriotism might be equally false. At their first meeting the blush of shame tinged his cheek. He endured without reply not only their angry

glances, but their undisguised reproofs and menaces. He condescended to solicit their advice, and besought them not to forsake him. In truth, they could not retract. One alternative alone presented itself, they must either disunite the confederacy which threatened to overwhelm them, or by rallying every Frenchman round the newly established throne, repel the blow which was aimed at their independence. It was immediately resolved to publish a vindication of the conduct of Napoleon in reseizing the throne; to state to the world the moderation of his views, and his determination to abide by the treaties already formed; to transmit direct overtures of conciliation to every European court, and to propose to the acceptance of the French a constitution which would satisfy every friend of liberty, and endear the Emperor and his government to the hearts of his subjects.

In the mean time, Napoleon made his first public appearance, and reviewed his troops. On the day after his entry into Paris, he ordered all the soldiers to assemble in the Place du Caroussel. He was received by them with an enthusiasm which would have been affecting and sublime, if love for their country had inspired it. It would have been excusable, and even praise-worthy, if devotion to their general had not blinded them to the consequences of his enterprise. Unhappy men! they thought not that after having been the prin-

cipal instruments of his success, they would become its first and most deplorable victims.

After having passed through the ranks, and noticed every soldier whose person he recollected, he formed them into a square and thus addressed them :

“Soldiers! I arrived in France with six hundred men, because I calculated upon the love of the people, and on the remembrance of the veteran soldiers. I was not deceived in my expectation. Soldiers! I thank you. Glory like that which we are about to acquire is every thing to the people, and to you! My glory is, that I have known and valued you!

“Soldiers! the throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, because it was built by the hands of strangers; because it was proscribed by the vow of the nation declared in all our national assemblies; because, in short, it offered a guarantee only to the interests of a few men, whose arrogant pretensions were opposed to our rights. Soldiers! the imperial throne only can secure the rights of the people, and above all, the first of our interests—our glory. Soldiers! we are now to march to hunt from our territories these princes, auxiliaries to strangers; the nation will not only second us in our protestations, but will follow our impulse. The French people and I calculate upon you. We will not interfere with the affairs of foreign nations, but woe to those who shall interfere with ours!”

The reader will not fail to remark the address with which Napoleon attributes his success to the love of the people, and represents his army merely as auxiliaries. The official journal enlarged on this a few days afterwards. "When he set foot on the territory of France, by whom was Napoleon followed? By a handful of faithful soldiers. His name alone was an army. To whom did he first present himself? To the old companions of his glory, to the regiments of the line, to armed bands? No! but to the cultivators of the land,—to the inhabitants who ran from all parts to throw themselves on his march,—to the municipalities,—to the public functionaries,—to the united population of every age and sex, which pressed around him. This population was permitted to count his feeble band, to approach his person, to listen to his discourse, to know the object of his enterprise, and the means which he possessed; and it was from these people that the first cries of "The Emperor for ever!" proceeded. He was acknowledged by the people before he met a single soldier. The historian will record this truth. He will mark it as the distinctive character of the present revolution, and the true cause and explanation of a rapidity so astonishing, and a success without opposition."

While it cannot be denied that the peasants were too well disposed to welcome the return of Napoleon, yet "the historian will record," that from

the shore of Cannes, where curiosity assembled the first crowd of spectators, to Grenoble, where the disaffection of the army assured the success of his enterprise, the population which crowded upon him, although immense, contained no public functionary, no minister of any religion, a small number of merchants, and a few proprietors. The assemblage consisted of the lowest classes of society, who are generally ready to hail every change, and whose opinion has, and ought to have little weight in the decision of public affairs.

As Napoleon was about to conclude his harangue, General Cambronne and the officers of the guard of the battalion of the Isle of Elba appeared, with the ancient eagles of the guard. The Emperor continued and said to the soldiers—

“These are the officers of the battalion that have accompanied me in my misfortunes. Every man is my friend. They are dear to my heart!—Every time I beheld them, they brought before my eyes the different regiments of the army, for among these six hundred brave fellows are men from every regiment. They have recalled to my memory those glorious days of which even the memory is so dear, for they are all covered with honourable scars gained in memorable battles. In loving them it was you, Soldiers! the whole French army that I loved. They bring you back your eagles. Let them serve you as a rallying point. In giving them to the guards I give them to the whole army.

“Treason and unfortunate events had covered them with a melancholy veil, but, thanks to the French people, and to you ! they now re-appear resplendent in all their glory. Swear that they shall always be present wherever the interests of the country shall require them, and that traitors, and those who would wish to invade our territory shall never endure their sight.”

“We swear it !” exclaimed all the soldiers with enthusiasm.

At the conclusion of the ceremony Napoleon intimated to M. D’Affry, Colonel of the Swiss guards, that on the following day he should review his troops. The colonel coldly replied that he should do his duty, and retired. He immediately assembled his officers, informed them of the orders which he had received, and requested their advice. Without hesitation they all answered, “Do what duty prescribes.”

On the 22d some regiments were drawn up in the square of the Carousel, and Napoleon at the head of his staff approached to review them. As he passed along the ranks he missed the Swiss. An aide-de-camp was despatched to require the instant attendance of the Colonel and his troops. “I acknowledge only the orders of the King,” said the colonel with much *sang-froid*, and the aide-de-camp returned with the message. Napoleon bit his lips, but was silent, and the review was concluded.

The colonel was then invited to appear at the palace. He immediately complied, expecting, but dreading not the coming storm. As he entered the hall of the marshals, two officers presented themselves, and demanded his sword. He drew it, retreated a few steps, and placing himself in a posture of defence, exclaimed "Let the bravest of you take it!"

This unexpected resistance disconcerted them. He again sheathed his sword, passed the officers without opposition and was introduced to the presence of Napoleon.

"Wherefore," fiercely asked he, "have you not obeyed my orders?"

"Because I acknowledge only the authority of the King and of the Cantons."

"Know you to whom you speak?"

"Yes, I am addressing General Buonaparte."

"You are addressing the Emperor of the French, and in that title I order you to repair to the square of the Carousel, with your regiment that I may review you."

"General! I have already had the honour to inform you that I will receive the orders of the King alone, to whom I have sworn allegiance."

"You took the same oath to me five years ago."

"You released me from that oath by your abdication."

"I would have you recollect yourself."

“ You will have the goodness to recollect that I belong to the Cantons.”

“ I will reduce them to submission.”

“ You will not easily reduce three hundred thousand men resolved to lose their lives rather than their liberty.”

“ Yet you were reduced by the Austrians.”

“ And we were relieved by William Tell.”

“ Enough,” said Napoleon, and turned to one of his ministers.

The officers who thronged the apartment had listened with astonishment to this conversation, and doubted not that it would end in the arrest of M. D’Affry ; but Napoleon was too politic to give vent to the rage with which he was almost suffocated. The colonel was suffered to depart, and shortly afterwards, when several attempts to seduce their allegiance had failed, the Swiss were permitted to return to their native country.

A few days afterwards he received addresses from his ministers, the council of state, the municipality of Paris, and every public body. His answers to some of them, if they were sincere, would immortalize him.

To his ministers he replied, “ The sentiments you express are my own. All for the nation ;—all for France:—that is my motto.—Myself and family, whom that great people have raised to the throne of the French, and whom they have maintained

there notwithstanding political storms and vicissitudes, we desire, we deserve, we claim no other title."

The address of the Council of State was remarkable for the independence of its language, the caution which it gives Napoleon for the regulation of his future conduct, and the conditions on which alone it pledges itself to support him.

"The council of state in resuming their functions, conceived it a duty to make known the principles which form the rule of their opinions, and of their conduct.

The sovereignty rests in the people. The people are the only source of legitimate power.

The emperor is called to guarantee anew, by fresh institutions, for which he has pledged himself in his proclamations to the army, and to the nation, all the liberal principles, individual liberty, and the equality of rights, the liberty of the press, the abolition of the censorship, the freedom of worship, the voting of taxes and laws by the representatives of the nation freely elected, the inviolability of national property of every origin, the independence and irremovability of the tribunals, the responsibility of the ministers, and of all the agents of power.

For the better conservation of the rights and obligations of the people and of the monarch, the national institutions shall be viewed in a grand

assembly of the representatives, already announced by the Emperor."

Napoleon answered, " Princes are the first citizens of the state. Their authority is more or less extended according to the interests of the nations whom they govern. The sovereignty itself is only hereditary because the welfare of the people requires it. Departing from this principle I know no legitimacy.

" I have renounced the idea of the grand empire, of which during fifteen years I had but founded the basis. Henceforth the happiness and the consolidation of the French empire shall be all my thoughts."

Is this the man who a twelvemonth before had proudly said to the legislative assembly, " I am the throne. The representation of the people is vested in me. The nation is mine." Had he learned wisdom in the school of adversity? Was he now become the patriotic prince, who recognises the rights of the nation, and only wishes to reign by them and for them; who regulates his pretensions and his projects by the interests of his people, and the honour of his neighbours? Rather (say his enemies, who judge of the future by the past) it was a chameleon who assumes the colour of the moment. It was a serpent who conceals under his beautiful scales, a deadly poison. He now flatters and promises, said they, because

he is feeble, but let success crown his enterprise, and he will again trample on the liberties of France; he will again lead his soldiers to plunder and carnage, and will glut himself with the blood of those by whom he has been humiliated.

Which party reasoned rightly posterity must decide *.

In the line of his march from Cannes to Paris, Napoleon had encountered but a small part of the population and of the army, but the expression of their sentiments was clear and decisive.

The Moniteur of the 24th published the following account of the proceedings of the different

* The President Seguier refused to go at the head of the court of Cassation to present the address to Napoleon. He was sent for on the next day, to the Thuilleries, and the Emperor in the public levée reproached him for his conduct.

“General,” replied Seguier, “I cannot serve two masters. I belong to my king.”

Napoleon was offended at the title of General, and required that he should be addressed as Sire; but to this Seguier could not be induced to consent.

“I dismiss you from the bench,” at length exclaimed Napoleon in a rage, “and order you to leave Paris this very day.”

“You only hasten my departure by twenty-four hours,” replied the magistrate, “for I had made preparations for departing to-morrow to my estates.”——*Times*.

corps of the army and the disposition of the general mass of the people.

The Duke of Belluno (Victor) marched on Paris with the troops of the second division. When the regiments learned that the Emperor approached the capital, they successively adopted the national colours. The Duke of Belluno withdrew, and the whole division continued its march re-united under its ancient colours.

In the third and fourth divisions, notwithstanding the efforts of the Prefect Vaublanc, and several generals, the officers and soldiers have all assumed the national cockade. Colonel Jacquelimot, aide-de-camp of the duke of Reggio (Oudinot) has this day brought the addresses of the different corps, and given them to the Emperor during the parade.

“ The Duke of Albufera (Suchet) and General Girard did not wait the news of the progress of the Emperor’s march, and all the troops have united to the great joy of the whole of the inhabitants of Alsace. Thus the national standard waves in this province as in Burgundy and Franche-Compte.

Lieutenant-General Pajol had planted at Orleans the tri-coloured cockade when Marshal St. Cyr, arriving in that town, ordered him to be put under arrest. The troops having unanimously declared that they would march towards their Emperor, and that they participated in the general

feelings of the army, the marshal ordered the gates to be shut. The brave cuirassiers of the first regiment burst them open and Marshal St. Cyr disappeared.

Rouen and the whole of Normandy have reassumed the national colours. Brittany, and especially the town of Rennes, have displayed the greatest enthusiasm. The troops of the fifteenth division marched immediately to attack the Duke of Bourbon who left Angers on the 20th.

The proclamations of the Emperor must have arrived in Poitou on the 23d, and notwithstanding the efforts of the Bourbons who shewed themselves there on the 22d, the national colours will be hoisted by the people of that district, who are not forgetful of the benefits conferred on them by the Emperor.

Lieutenant-General Clausel is gone to command at Bourdeaux, which town the Duchess of Angouleme has quitted.

It appears according to the last couriers arrived from Marseilles, that the white cockade was still hoisted in that city. Enrolments of one thousand five hundred men had been formed there to march against the Emperor. The Marshal Prince of Essling (Massena) endeavoured to keep down the public mind, and the troops were bursting with indignation at seeing the people abused and agitated by the agents of troubles. These movements will have ceased on the news of the entry of

the Emperor into Paris, which arrived at Lyons on the 21st, and must have been known in Marseilles about the 23d.

The inhabitants, and land and sea forces at Toulon have displayed the most lively enthusiasm, and assumed the national colours.

The presence of the Comte de Lille (the king) and the princes of his house still prevents in the departments of the north the expression of the sentiments of the people and of the troops. Forty thousand men have quitted Paris for the north. The advanced-guard under General Excelmans will be to-morrow at the gates of Lisle."

This correct and candid statement was on the whole highly favourable to the cause of Napoleon, and satisfactory to his friends.

Intelligence now arrived from Vienna, that Maria Louisa had formally renounced the title of Empress, and to give an unequivocal proof that she was for ever disunited from her husband, had laid aside the green livery of Napoleon's family, and had appeared in public in the green and blue livery of Parma. This was indeed a fatal contradiction to the falsehoods which had been disseminated respecting her return, and, unexplained, reflected no credit on the feelings of a woman, who in this critical conjuncture of her husband's affairs could be persuaded to adopt such a measure. It should however be recorded, that she was compelled to take these steps contrary to her

inclination and most earnest entreaties; that her affections were yet her husband's; and that she had made more than one attempt to escape from Vienna and unite herself to his fate.

At this period she received a visit from Talleyrand, who was received in such a way as to afford him no temptation again to obtrude on her presence. Report says that she literally boxed his ears.

Three days after his public entry into Paris, Napoleon removed every restriction which the Bourbons had impolitically laid on the liberty of the press, and dismissed the censors, to whom every pamphlet, and every article in all the journals was submitted previous to its publication.

This decree excited equal surprise and satisfaction. If the freedom of the press was sincerely accorded, the dictatorial power with which Napoleon was now necessarily invested found in that a full and sufficient counterpoise. The utmost license was given to political discussion. Compositions which censured most freely the measures of government, and the characters of which it was composed, and whose evident object was to excite discontent and to prepare for reaction were circulated without restraint. The justificatory memorial of the Duke of Ragusa, containing expressions against Napoleon, which if uttered against an English sovereign would have condemned the author to long imprisonment, was sold in all the shops. The negative vote of Kergelay

was afterwards disseminated without control, though it contained this remarkable sentence "I am obliged to protest against this article, because I am convinced that the re-establishment of this dynasty (the Bourbon) on the throne is the only means of giving happiness to Frenchmen."

It must be recorded to the honour of the new government, that with one exception the press was free, and political discussion unfettered. The editors of a publication called "Le Censeur" were brought before the tribunals for having published the following libel on the French army. "If a fraction of the people could dispose of the crown, that would soon happen to us, which happened to the Roman people after the reign of the first emperor : we should have for chiefs none but soldiers, and the reigning family would be murdered as soon as it ceased to be pleasing to the satellites by whom it was surrounded."

This gave great offence to the army. To be branded with the degrading title of satellites was more than they could bear. "It is an inexcusable term of contempt," said some of the officers to Napoleon, at the public levée. "They are the defenders of the nation." Napoleon, thus appealed to, was compelled to interfere. The publication was seized and the editors summoned before the tribunal, but that tribunal had secret instructions to suffer the affair to drop.

The government was soon conscious that it had

done wrong, and had the meanness to resort to falsehood to apologize for its imprudence. The *Moniteur* of the next day asserted that "the fifth volume of the *Censor* was yesterday allowed to be sold, without making any change in the text. By this wise measure of the government, the author has lost the interest of being thought a victim, a certain speculator the profit of a surreptitious edition, and the work all the charms of a prohibited book."

The editor had the boldness publicly to contradict this in the following terms:—

"Mr. ———, The Journals have announced that the fifth volume of the *Censor* had been seized, but that on mature deliberation the authorities had permitted it to be exposed to sale. It is true that this volume has been seized by the police, but it is false that it has been restored. They will neither give it up, nor prosecute it before the tribunals, although the editors have begged to be replaced in the possession of their property or to be brought to trial.

You will be pleased to give no credit to what the journals may say either of the work or its authors, because the liberty of the press no longer exists.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CH. COMPTE.

P. S. We beg you to give this letter the greatest possible publicity."

Here the matter dropped ; unpleasant suspicions were excited in the minds of the friends of liberty, and the government was so severely censured, that the freedom of the press was not again disturbed*.

This unrestrained licence was politic and advantageous. It put the public feeling completely

* The authors of the Censor have published a detailed account of the affair in a pamphlet which was suppressed by the Bourbon government. The history which they give of the way in which ministers manage and control a press, apparently free, is so very curious, that I cannot resist the temptation of presenting it to the reader.

The editors describe the efforts which they had made to awaken the Bourbons to a perception of the false and ruinous policy by which they were gradually alienating the affections of every class of the people, and the zeal with which they had afterwards espoused the cause of the falling government, in opposition to the dreaded return of the domination of Buonaparte. 'As long' say they 'as the government had no enemy to combat we defended the laws which it had given us, and pointed out the rocks on which it might strike ; but as soon as it was attacked, we supported it as much as was in our power.' A few days after the entrance of Napoleon into Paris, they were summoned before the minister of police, from whom, instead of the reproaches, or threats, or punishment, which they expected, they received a most gracious reception, and were cordially thanked for the benefits which they had rendered their country by their bold and independent writings. Fouché concluded by offering them the Editorship of the *Moniteur*, a journal that had always been distinguished, and must have continued to be characterized by its servile flattery of the court. The Minister had mistaken his men, and the offer was received with the indignation that it

to the test. It destroyed the importance which falsehood and calumny would have derived from mystery and privacy; and it suffered the friends of the Bourbons, and all the springs and agents

merited, when Fouché, eager to prevent all unpleasant explanation, and fearing an open rupture, hastily dismissed them, advising them to reflect at their leisure on his proposal. 'Eight days had scarcely elapsed,' says M. Compte, 'when we received another invitation from the minister of police. We were introduced into his closet and found the minister alone. He asked us to take a walk in the garden, and the following is the substance of the conversation that passed between us:—

The Minister—Gentlemen! you have rendered great services to France, and you have it in your power to render still greater, at a moment when it is attempted to secure the triumph of the *tiers état* against the privileged. But the Emperor will not act as the last Government did. The latter took pleasure in debasing those men who defended liberal ideas; the Emperor, on the contrary, wishes only to reward them. He has charged me to inquire of you what will be most agreeable.

Compte—Sir! we are very sensible of the marks of attention which you wish to shew us. If the Emperor is desirous to do any thing for us, let him leave to us that object which we are anxious to retain; let him give us a good government and render France free and happy. That is the only thing that can flatter us, and the only thing that we can venture to accept.

The Minister—Doubtless he will render France free; but that need not prevent him from rewarding deserving men.—Reflect, Gentlemen! what will be agreeable to you?

Dunoyer (the colleague of M. Compte in the Censeur)—Sir! if the Emperor wishes to do something that is agreeable to us, he will permit us peaceably to continue our labours.

The Minister—There is not the least intention of preventing it. But the press being entirely free, and each being at liberty to

of revolt to expose and entrap and entangle themselves without the trouble of any extraordinary apparent exertion.

Another of the first decrees of Napoleon was,

follow his inclination, without danger, and to pursue the same course as yourselves, you will no longer have the merit of boldness, and your work will lose a great part of its interest. *Besides, you will not always have me ; and however free the press may be, an able minister will always find means to prevent that from being written which he does not like.*

C.—When this able minister shall appear, we shall then see —

The minister.—You are advocates, are you not ?

D. and C.—Yes, Sir !

The minister.—You are advocates ! Reflect, Gentlemen, upon what will be agreeable to you.

D.—Sir ! we have declared our intentions, and I do not think we shall alter them.

The minister.—In general, the magistracy does not accord very well with young people. We have just appointed a great number of Prefects. The nominations have been made with some precipitation ; and among the number some have been admitted who served under the old desp—, the old imperial government, —weak men ;—these appointments have produced a bad effect.

C.—That is true, Sir !

The minister.—We could have wished for persons who had taken no part in the former measures —. Reflect, Gentlemen, upon what will be agreeable to you.

C.—Sir, we are quite overpowered with the obliging offers which you have made us, but it is not possible for us to avail ourselves of them.

The minister.—I think literary persons prefer in general such places as leave them time to prosecute their studies.—Pray, therefore, Gentlemen ! reflect upon what will be agreeable to you.

the abolition of the slave trade, a decree in which every benevolent mind must exult. The historian is not eager to inquire into all the motives which concurred to produce this measure. He is

The offers which had been made to us did not prevent the printing of the fifth volume of the *Censeur*. It was to appear on the 6th of April. While it was preparing for publication, M. Mehée called upon me. "Do you know," said he, with an air of consternation, "what has been done?" "No; what is the matter?" "Your fifth volume has been seized, and I come to solicit you, in the name of the prefect of the police, to go to him and endeavour to arrange this affair." "Is that all! I thought it was something concerning the welfare of France. I see what is the matter; we have an able minister who knows how to prevent any thing from being written which he does not like, notwithstanding the entire liberty of the press. The offers of his excellency are now perfectly intelligible."

M. Mehée had scarcely entered before a second messenger arrived, who urged me in the most pressing manner, to go immediately to the Prefecture of the Police. I promised I would, and I did so.

The Prefect, who appeared to be quite calm at the moment I entered his closet, suddenly assumed an appearance of the most delightful despair. Holding his head between his hands, and traversing the room with rapid strides, he uttered nothing but monosyllables or disjointed phrases—

Ah Gentlemen!—what have you done? No—never could I have thought it of you. Robespierre—Marat would not have done such a thing,—Good God! at a moment when France is besieged by eight hundred thousand enemies!

Compte.—Mr. Prefect, will you have the goodness to hear me. The volume which you have caused to be seized contains either errors or crimes. If it contains only errors, you have eight or ten journals at your command, who may refute them; if it con-

willing to hope that they were not dishonourable; and it is well known that Napoleon had said to several English gentlemen who visited him at Elba, that it was a traffic as injurious to the in-

tains crimes, you ought not to speak to us with asperity, you ought to try us.

The Prefect.—No, never should I have expected it from you—I, who would have answered for you as for my own son—Oh, Sir! what you have done is most abominable!!!

C.—I repeat what I have said, Mr. Prefect. We must be refuted if we have reasoned badly; we must be punished if we are guilty. Do not, however, imagine that I am the dupe of what has taken place. The minister of police thought to seduce us by praises, and the offers which he made; he was deceived. If he supposes that his menaces will have more effect, he will still find himself deceived. He may make the experiment if he pleases. But, before trying it, I must inform you, that under the last reign we were threatened with assassination by fanatics, and we laughed at their threats and their daggers; I now tell you that we equally laugh at the bayonets and the scaffolds of Buonaparte.

The Prefect.—Ah! I see it plainly. You wish for martyrdom, but you will not obtain it.

C.—So much the worse, Mr. Prefect.

The Prefect.—You hear, M. Mehée; you hear him ask for martyrdom!

C.—No, I do not seek it; neither would I fear it.

The Prefect.—Ah! what have you done? And what will they say at Ghent? To attack the proceedings of government at the very moment when it is necessary every one should rally round it.

C.—There is no other means now of rallying Frenchmen round the government, except by sincerely meaning to do good, and by acting with frankness. Since the arrival of the Emperor, however, not an act has been determined upon but what is contrary

terests of France, by demoralizing the people, as it was ignominious to humanity.

This, at least, is evident that if Napoleon dared without preamble or apology, to order, "From

to good sense, and tending evidently to its destruction. It has been justly said that it advises only with its enemies.

The Prefect.—Perhaps we may yet understand each other. Come with me to the minister, and we will try and arrange this business.

C.—I cannot go there, Sir!

The Prefect.—Yet, the minister is a man who loves liberty.

C.—Yes, but it is liberty after the manner of M. Fouché, and I am no admirer of it.

The Prefect.—Very well; I shall go there alone then. Do you be here this evening at five o'clock.

I repaired to the prefecture of the police at the appointed hour. At this conference the discourse chiefly turned upon some suppressions that were to be made in the new volume. I consented to sacrifice a few passages, upon the express condition that the public should be made acquainted with the seizure and the suppressions. This condition appeared to displease; but I persisted in demanding it, because we would not co-operate in deluding the public by falsely persuading them that they enjoyed the liberty of the press. As the prefect had directed the seizure of the volume by the order of the minister, and as he had not himself read it, it was settled that I should go next morning to M. P— with M. L—, to determine upon what passages should be suppressed. But, not being acquainted with M. P—, I thought, after a little reflection, that it would be better to forego this interview. All hope of conciliation being thus at an end, they hastened to announce in the journals that the volume which had been seized was restored to us. This declaration was contradicted, first of all by a hand-bill, and afterwards by a circular, *which the police did not seize*. At length they gave us our vo-

the date of the present decree the slave trade is abolished," and this at a time when every consideration required that he should conciliate all parties, and shew that he was determined in every action to consult the prosperity and happiness of France, the conduct of the former government in continuing this infamous traffic was highly disgraceful and criminal. The assertion of the British minister (who was charged to render the abolition of the slave trade, almost a *sine quâ non* in the treaty concluded with Lewis), that the public opinion of France was decidedly hostile to the abolition, was certainly destitute of foundation.

While this subject was discussing in the cabinet of the King, the most enlightened men of every party urged the court to pronounce the immediate abolition of the traffic, and the journals were filled with the most eloquent appeals in behalf of their oppressed fellow-creatures, when suddenly a decisive order arrived from the Thuilleries to suppress every article which advocated the cause of justice and mercy. It is strange that his *most Christian Majesty*, and a court crowded with priests, should have refused to listen to the pleadings of humanity, and that all the honour of

lume, when they saw that it was no longer possible to impose upon the public. I ought to add, that during our discussions, the prefect incessantly offered us an indemnity for the loss that we had sustained.

this *most Christian act* should have been reserved for one, who was branded as destitute of all religion, and even a secret atheist. Time will remove the veil which now covers this mysterious transaction.

Another decree contained several alleviating regulations relative to the *droits reunis*. These, next to the conscription, were the greatest grievances imposed upon the people by Napoleon's late government, and it will be recollected, that the promise of the abolition of both was the grand boon by which the Bourbons courted and obtained popularity on their re-entrance into France. The pledge for the abolition of the *droits reunis* was broken by the King's government, and notwithstanding the resistance and repugnance of the people, this odious and oppressive tax continued to be levied. Napoleon was thus furnished with an opportunity of gaining much credit and popularity, by the early attention which he seemed to pay to the interests of his people.

About this time it is said that the Emperor meditated a complete reformation of the established religion in France. It was always suspected that he was no very zealous Catholic, and during his retirement in Elba, he had been confirmed in the persuasion that the religion of the church of Rome bore little resemblance to the primitive doctrines of Christianity. He now wished to carry

into practice the reform which he had meditated in his exile, and to establish in France a rational system of faith, such as the Apostles taught, and the first believers embraced. But he was wisely dissuaded by his council from intermeddling with so tender and dangerous a subject, and contented himself with the determination that the utmost freedom in religion should prevail in France.

A short time afterwards a measure was adopted which reflects immortal credit on the new government. Carnot addressed a memorial to the Emperor, descanting on the inestimable advantages of elementary instruction, when bestowed on the lower classes of society, and stating that there were in France two millions of children destitute of primary education. "I do not speak," says he, "of that education which forms half philosophers, or men of the world, but such only as will form good artisans and moral men, by affording the elements of indispensable knowledge, good habits, and respect for the laws." He concludes with a high eulogium on Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, for whose system he solicits the patronage of the Emperor.

Napoleon immediately issued the following decree, which, on account of the interest of the subject, is given at length.

"Napoleon, Emperor of the French, &c.

Considering the importance of education for improving the state of society,—considering that

the methods hitherto used in France have not attained that degree of perfection which it is possible to reach, and desiring to place this branch of our institutions on a level with the intelligence of the age, we have decreed, and do decree as follows.

Art. 1. Our minister of the interior shall invite around him the persons who deserve to be consulted, as to the best methods of primary education ;—he shall examine and decide on those methods, and direct the experiment of such as he shall deem preferable.

2. There shall be opened at Paris an experimental school of primary education, so organized as to serve for a model, and to become a normal school to form primary teachers.

3. After satisfactory results shall have been obtained from this school of experiment, our minister of the interior shall propose to us the measures calculated to enable all the departments to enjoy the advantages of the new methods which shall have been adopted.”

When he considers the important nature and moral effect of these ordinances, and compares them with the too evident tendency of the preceding administration to establish the ancient *regime*, and to cause liberty and knowledge again to retrograde, the reader will deeply lament that the former actions and habits of Napoleon, and the perverted and demoralized character of the

French army should imperiously call on the united powers of Europe to crush a government which, in these respects, promised so fairly.

These acts of Napoleon astonished and confounded the superficial politicians of every nation. They had expected and wished that the dictatorship which he had established by usurpation, would have been supported by terror. Their conclusion suited with the character of Napoleon, but it was inconsistent with the policy which his peculiar circumstances and necessities demanded. Surrounded by all the talents of France, and by those who wished well to their country, and whose firmness and virtue had been illustrated in all the various scenes of the revolution, whatever might be his private wishes and designs, he saw, at present, an insuperable obstacle opposed to his ambition and impetuosity. Those furious and insane bursts of passion, by which he had tarnished the lustre of his former achievements, were repressed by the influence of his advisers, and the difficulties which surrounded him.

A Paris journal gives the following account of the manner in which he spent his time. He usually rose at five or six in the morning, and immediately retired to his closet, where no one dared to intrude upon him till nine. He then breakfasted, and immediately afterwards held his levée, after which he again retired to his closet, or presided at the councils of his ministers. At twelve he

attended the review or parade, after which he was again in his closet, or with his ministers until eight, when he dined. There were usually seven or eight persons, ministers or generals, invited. Soon after dinner coffee was introduced, and between ten and eleven the Emperor retired to rest.

They who had opportunity of observing him closely, evidently saw that he was unhappy. Notwithstanding the acclamations of the crowd, the homage of the constituted authorities, the servile adulation of his favourites, and the intoxicated devotion of the army, he was absent and abstracted. His behaviour at the council was restrained. His natural loquacity was subdued. He often sighed deeply. He was eloquent and confident only when surrounded by his troops. Hence parades and reviews succeeded each other in uninterrupted succession. As he passed along the ranks of his brave and faithful soldiers, he seemed to regain the power which was contested in the conferences of the council. It is said that he was often detected shedding in secret tears of shame, vexation, and rage. His humiliated pride was tortured by the thought that the confederated kings disdained even to notice his overtures of peace. He contrasted the contempt with which they now treated him, with the affection which some of them had once expressed, and the humility with which others had thanked him for their forfeited crowns. Even amidst the applauses of his soldiers he

heard and shrunk from the mockeries of his foes.

His return to power had been distinguished by a clemency and magnanimity before unknown. The protection which he afforded to many of the members of the Bourbon house, apparently afforded a pleasing and honourable contrast with the disgracefully savage and barbarous denunciations of the manifestos of his enemies. He had, however, secretly formed a list of those who had most strenuously opposed his enterprise, or who had insulted him in his former calamities. These he would now fain have sacrificed to his revenge. But his ministers watched over him, and proved themselves in this, as in many other respects, his guardian angels.

Fouché, the Duke of Otranto, his minister of police, opposed all the salutary dilatoriness of office to the eagerness of his proscriptions. He secretly warned the objects of Napoleon's fury of the threatened danger. To satisfy his master he presented some false victims, some illusory sacrifices, and in most cases he finally succeeded in rescuing the prey from the destroyer. Yet the very persons whom he had defended and preserved, afterwards accused him as the accomplice of the dictator, and ceased not to raise their insensate and ungrateful clamour, till they had driven him from the councils of the King.

In the progress of this history honourable men-

tion has been made of another of Napoleon's ministers. Fortunate would it have been if they had consecrated their services to the real interests of their country, and had done that for their legitimate prince, which they effected for Napoleon. But he had invoked the name of liberty, he had dared to sanction his designs with the sacred name of virtue ; and the severe and philosophic Carnot has left it on record, that he believed Napoleon was sincere, and fondly dreamed that in serving the Emperor he was serving his country.

On the 2d of April appeared the justificatory manifesto of Napoleon. After dwelling on the style of the manifesto of the allies, of which it asserts, with too much truth, that 'it provokes the crime of assassination, and is almost without example in the history of the world,' it proceeds to state distinctly the instances in which the treaty of Fontainebleau was violated by the allies and the Bourbons, and by which Napoleon was released from every obligation to observe it.

"The treaty of Fontainebleau has been violated by the allied powers, and by the house of Bourbon, in what respects the Emperor Napoleon and his family, and in what respects the interests and rights of the French nation.

1. The Empress Maria Louisa and her son were to obtain passports, and an escort, to repair to the Emperor : but far from performing their promise, the husband and wife, father and son,

were separated under painful circumstances, when the firmest mind has occasion to seek consolation and support in family and domestic affections.

2. The security of Napoleon and of his imperial family and their suite, were guaranteed (art. 14 of the treaty) by all the powers ; yet bands of assassins were organized in France under the eyes of the French government, and even by its orders (as will soon be proved by the solemn proceedings against the *Sieur Demonbreail*), for attacking the Emperor, his brothers, and their wives, in default of the success hoped for from this first branch of the plot. An insurrection was prepared at *Orgon*, on the Emperor's route, in order that an attempt might be made on his life by some brigands. The *Sieur Brulart*, an associate of *Georges*, had been sent as governor to *Corsica*, in order to prepare and make sure of the crime ; and, in fact, several detached assassins have attempted in the *Isle of Elba*, to gain, by the murder of the Emperor, the base reward which was promised them*.

* After Napoleon had attained to the supreme authority in France, he was particularly solicitous to erase all traces of the civil wars in *La Vendée*, and the other north-western provinces of France. He therefore entered into negotiations with the heads of the royalists, and was so successful as to gain over most of them, and to form arrangements with each individually. All of them obtained considerable pensions on certain conditions. One engaged to exile himself from France for ever. Another was not to leave *Vendée*. A third was to reside constantly at *Paris*, ac-

3. The Duchies of Parma and Placentia were given in full property to Maria Louisa, for herself, her son, and their descendants. After a long refusal to put her in possession, the injustice was completed by an absolute spoliation, under the illusory pretext of an exchange, without valua-

cording as the circumstances of each led Buonaparte to consider it to be most advantageous.

Among those who were confined to Paris was Brulart, a zealous royalist and a good soldier. A considerable time after the complete pacification of La Vendée, Brulart solicited for a friend who had stipulated not to leave that province, permission to visit Paris; and Buonaparte with apparent kindness replied that he needed only to invite his friend to come, as every thing was now settled and all apprehension was now unnecessary. Upon this Brulart's friend came to Paris; but no sooner had he arrived there, than he was seized and shot by the express command of Napoleon. Brulart being apprised of the circumstance fled horror-struck to England. From that country he wrote to Napoleon saying, that he had made him the innocent cause of the death of his friend, who had come upon the faith of the assurances he had given him;—that the shade of the murdered victim hovered incessantly before his eyes demanding vengeance;—that he was determined to devote himself to this duty; and had sworn to the shade of his friend that Napoleon should die by his hand.

Of this letter Brulart had a few copies printed, and sent them by different channels to France, so that at last it was handed by the police to Buonaparte. He laughed at the menaces of the chivalrous enthusiast, and forgot them in the brilliant career of his prosperity. But when Lewis XVIII returned to Paris, Brulart was also in his retinue, and, by a singular co-incidence, was appointed Governor of Corsica, with directions to watch the island of Elba. For this purpose Brulart removed his residence

tion, proposition, or sovereignty, and without her consent. And the documents in the office for foreign affairs prove that it was on the solicitations, and by intrigues of the Prince of Benevente, that Maria Louisa and her son were despoiled.

4. Eugene, the adopted son of Napoleon, was to have obtained a suitable establishment out of France, but he has had nothing.

5. The Emperor had stipulated for the army the preservation of their rewards given them on Monte Napoleon. He had reserved to himself, the power to recompense his faithful followers. Every thing has been taken away, and abused by the Ministers of the Bourbons. M. Bresson, an agent from the army, was despatched from Vienna to assert their claims, but in vain.

6. The preservation of the property, moveable and immoveable, belonging to the Emperor's family, was provided for, but all was robbed—in France by commissioned brigands, in Italy by the violence of the military chiefs.

7. Napoleon was to have received two millions, and his family two millions five hundred thousand

from Ajaccio to Bastia opposite to Elba, from which with a favourable wind the passage might be made in a few hours.

No sooner had Napoleon received intelligence of this circumstance than he again recollected the letter, and became apprehensive. Brulart might meditate the speedy gratification of his revenge. From this time he began to seclude himself with the greatest caution from all promiscuous society.

francs per annum. The French government has constantly refused to discharge its engagements, and Napoleon would have soon been obliged to disband his faithful guards for want of the means of paying them, had he not found an honourable resource in the conduct of some bankers and merchants of Genoa and Italy, who advanced twelve millions, which they had offered to him.

8. In fine, it was not without a cause that it was desirable by every means to remove from Napoleon the companions of his glory, the unshaken sureties of his safety and of his existence.—The Island of Elba was assigned to him in perpetuity, but the resolution of robbing him of it was, at the instigation of the Bourbons, fixed upon by the congress. Had not Providence prevented it, Europe would have seen an attempt made on the person and liberty of Napoleon, left hereafter at the mercy of his enemies, and transported, far from his friends and followers, either to St. Lucie, or St. Helena, which had been pointed out as his prison.

And when the allied powers, yielding to the imprudent wishes, and the cruel instigations of the house of Bourbon, condescended to violate the solemn contract, on the faith of which Napoleon liberated the French nation from its oaths; when he himself and all the members of his family saw themselves menaced, attacked in their persons, in their properties, in their affections, in all the

rights stipulated in their favour as Princes, in those even secured by the laws to private citizens,—what was Napoleon to do?

Was he, after enduring so many injuries, supporting so many acts of injustice, to consent to the complete violation of the engagements entered into with him, and, resigning himself personally to the fate prepared for him, to abandon also his spouse, his son, his family, and his faithful servants to their frightful destiny?

Such a resolution seems beyond the endurance of human nature; and yet Napoleon would have embraced it, if the peace and happiness of France had been the price of this new sacrifice. He would have devoted himself for the French people, from whom, as he will declare in the face of Europe, it is his glory to hold every thing; whose good shall be the object of all his endeavours, and to whom alone he will be answerable for his actions, and devote his life."

It is much to be regretted that this manifesto contains so much truth. It is impossible to deny that, in most of the articles which are here enumerated, both the spirit and the letter of the treaty were violated by the Bourbons and the Allies. The Empress had been forcibly separated from her husband. She had been deprived of the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. The conduct of the Allies with relation to this point was perfectly indefensible. Eugene had been ne-

glected. The property of Napoleon and his family had been sequestrated. The pension which was to have been paid to him was withheld ; and no one has ventured to deny that it was the determination of Congress to remove him from Elba, and consign him for life to the island of St. Lucie, or the rock of St. Helena.

The plain and undeniable violation of a treaty by one of the parties, releases the other from all obligation to abide by it. It is futile to say that Buonaparte ought to have demanded satisfaction and redress. His situation precluded this. It would have been the signal for his removal or his destruction.

The non-performance of a condition gives the party injured the option either to demand redress, or to hold the treaty utterly null and void. The conditions to be performed by the allies were broken and Napoleon had a right to consider himself absolved from his abdication, which he had signed on the faith of the strict performance of these conditions ; and his manner of proceeding in such a case depended upon his own judgment.

So far, therefore, as the crusade against him was founded on his breach of the treaty of Fontainebleau, it was manifestly unreasonable and unjust. Whether there were other sufficient grounds for war will be considered presently.

The manifesto proceeds to state the causes,

arising from the internal state of France, and the errors of the Bourbons, which produced and justified the return of Napoleon ; the renunciation by the Emperor of all his former plans of aggrandisement, and his solemn determination to abide by the conditions of the treaty of Paris. It then deprecates the interference of foreign sovereigns in the choice of the French people, and concludes in the following manner.

“ And now, replaced at the head of the nation which had thrice already made choice of him, and which has a fourth time designated him by the reception which it has given him in his rapid and triumphant march and arrival, what does Napoleon wish from this nation—by which, and for the interest of which, he wishes to reign ?

What the French people wishes—the independence of France, internal peace, peace with all nations, and the execution of the treaty of Paris of the 30th May, 1814.

What is the change, then, which has taken place in the state of Europe, and in the hope of repose which was promised to it ? What voice is raised to demand assistance, which, according to the declaration, ought only to be given when called for ?

Nothing has been changed : if the allied powers return, as it is expected they will do, to just and moderate sentiments ; if they acknowledge that the existence of France in a respectable and in-

dependent state, as far from conquering as from being conquered, from dominating as from being subjugated, is necessary to the balance of great kingdoms and to the guarantee of small states.

Nothing has been changed : if, respecting the rights of a great nation which wishes to respect the rights of all others, which, high-minded and and generous, has been lowered, but never degraded, they allow it to retake a monarch, and give itself a constitution and laws suitable to its manners, its interests, its habits, and its new wants.

Nothing has been changed : if they do not endeavour to constrain France to submit again to a dynasty which she dislikes, to the feudal chains which she has thrown off, and to the seignorial or ecclesiastical prostrations from which she has liberated herself ; if they do not wish to impose laws on her, to interfere with her internal affairs, to assign a form of government to her, and to give masters to her to satisfy the pleasure or the passions of her neighbours.

Nothing has been changed : if, when France is occupied with preparing the new social compact which shall guarantee the liberty of her citizens, and the triumph of the generous ideas which prevail in Europe, and which can no longer be suppressed, they do not force her to withdraw herself from those pacific thoughts and means of internal prosperity, to which the people and

the chief wish to consecrate themselves in a happy accordance, and again direct their energies to war.

Nothing has been changed: if, when the French nation only demands to remain at peace with all Europe, an unjust coalition does not force it to defend, as it did in 1792, its will and its rights, and its independence, and the sovereign of its choice."

Two days afterwards pacific overtures were despatched by the French ministers to the courts of all the allies. These were accompanied by a letter in the hand-writing of the Emperor himself to each of the sovereigns.—The reader is here presented with it.

Paris, April 4, 1815.

SIRE, MY BROTHER!

You have no doubt learned in the course of the last month my return to France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of these events must now be made known to your Majesty. They are the results of an irresistible power; the results of the unanimous wish of a great nation which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty which force had given to the French people was not fitted for it. The Bourbons neither associated with the national sentiments or manners; France has therefore separated herself from them. Her voice called for a liberator. The hopes which in

duced me to make the greatest sacrifices for her have been deceived. I came ; and from the spot where I first set my foot, the love of my people has borne me into the heart of my capital.

The first wish of my heart is to repay so much affection by the maintenance of an honourable peace. The restoration of the imperial throne was necessary for the happiness of the French people. It is my sincerest desire to render it at the same time subservient to the maintenance of the repose of Europe. Enough of glory has shone by turns on the colours of the various nations. The vicissitudes of fortune have often enough occasioned great reverses, followed by great successes.

A more brilliant arena is now open to sovereigns, and I am the first to descend into it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great battles, it will now be more delightful to know no other rivalship in future, but that resulting from the advantages of peace, and no other struggle but the sacred one of felicity for our people.

France has been pleased to proclaim with candour this noble object of her unanimous wish. Jealous of her independence, the invariable principle of her policy will be the most rigid respect for the independence of other nations. If such then, as I trust they are, are the personal sentiments of your Majesty, general tranquillity is secured for a long time to come ; and justice, seated

on the confines of the various states, will, of her self, be sufficient to guard the frontiers.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

The couriers who were charged with these documents were not permitted to proceed to many of the courts, and returned to France with their despatches unopened. The English government referred the overtures which were made to it to the congress of Vienna, and the Emperor of Austria caused the despatches which he had received to be first opened in a full assembly of the plenipotentiaries.

It was their unanimous resolution, not only to refuse to listen to the pacific overtures of Napoleon, but to leave them unnoticed and unanswered.

A determination so extraordinary, and so contrary to the usages of every civilized country, required explanation and defence, and accordingly a laboured manifesto, entitled "An extract from the minutes of the conferences of the powers who signed the treaty of Paris," was published by the congress as a justification of their conduct.

It asserts that "Napoleon, by breaking a solemn treaty entered into with the allies, had placed himself in that state of hostility with them which existed before the treaty." This cannot be denied. But the allies, by first breaking the treaty, had rendered it no longer binding upon him; and, if their reasoning be legitimate, had previously placed them in a state of hostility against him,

which justified any enterprise that he might undertake.

It continues, “that while the allies acknowledge the indubitable right of every people to choose their own form of government, this right, like every other, has its limits, and cannot be exercised to the injury or danger of every surrounding country; and as the return of Buonaparte had established in France a focus of disorders and of subversions to every other state, it became the right and the duty of every surrounding government to prevent or to destroy the source of inevitable calamity.”

This argument demands attentive examination, and on it depended the question of peace or war.

The right of every nation to choose its own form of government is as indubitable, as an abstract principle, as that all men are born with equal rights: but it is to be acknowledged that, like all other abstract principles, it must be regulated and modified by circumstances. Notwithstanding the natural equality of men, the institutions of society have necessarily and beneficially introduced the widest distinctions between the situation and privileges of individuals; and one evident modification or limitation of the right of nations must be, that the government chosen shall not be unnecessarily dangerous to any other state.

The independence of each must have for its

measure the security of all : and in proportion as any state, from its situation, resources, and character, exercises an influence over its neighbours, in that proportion they have a right to watch over it, and to prevent any change or form of government which may endanger their safety.

The simple question then was, whether the government now chosen by the French was so dangerous to the security and peace of its neighbours as to require their interference. Of this there can scarcely be a doubt. The return of Buonaparte had been principally effected by the army—an army discontented, not because it had been deprived of any privileges to which it had a reasonable or just claim, but because the pacific disposition and measures of the King had doomed it to inactivity, had deprived it of the emoluments which it had hitherto derived from the plunder of Europe, and closed to it the path of glory, a mania for which had infected the whole population of France :—an army indignant at the reverses and disgraces which it had sustained, and eager to avenge them. This army had been the principal agent in re-establishing the Emperor on his throne, and having performed its service it would soon claim its reward. That reward must necessarily consist in again being conducted to rapine and plunder, to victory and glory.

Admitting that Buonaparte was sincerely disposed for peace, he could not long preserve it.

The very troops who now adored him, would have become indifferent to his cause, and would soon have conspired at his destruction, if they found that they were still abandoned to sloth and poverty. For his own preservation he must have found them employment, and that employment would have consisted in first attempting to regain the provinces that France had been compelled to abandon, and then commencing afresh their victorious and destructive career through the whole of Europe.

This argument derives additional strength from the character of the individual whom they had chosen. The essence of Napoleon's character was ambition, and in the pursuit of that end he was perfectly careless of the means. During fifteen years he had unceasingly aimed at the subjugation of Europe. It had been the object of his daily meditations, and his nightly dreams. "In five years," said he to one of his ministers, at a time when he was at peace with every continental power except Spain, "In five years I shall be master of the world. Russia alone will remain; but I will crush it," added he, with a most expressive gesture. "Paris shall reach to St. Cloud. I will build fifty vessels every year; but I will not send one of them to sea till I have five hundred. I shall then be master of the ocean as well as the land." It was a favourite expression with him at that time, that in five years he should be master

of the world, and that Paris would reach to St. Cloud.

On a former occasion he exclaimed before his assembled courtiers, "Your literary men are all brutes; your women are all ——. I am dying with *ennui*. I must make war." The fate of Prussia was then decided.

He was a man whom no success could satisfy, and whom no reverses could turn from his project.

He had now professed to renounce his former errors, and he wished to live for the peace and happiness of France. Unfortunately the allies had nothing but his bare word for this, that word which, on a thousand occasions, had been unblushingly violated. In the pursuit of his ambitious career he had disregarded the most sacred compacts that could be formed between man and man. His professions and his promises were remembered no longer than it suited his convenience to observe them. What reliance then could be placed on an assurance, however solemnly given, which was in direct opposition to the whole tenor of his former life?

So lately as in the campaign of the foregoing year, he had given a proof of duplicity which must remain a lasting blot on his character. When he was critically situated between the armies of Blucher and Schwartzenberg, and felt the dangers that pressed upon him, he directed

his minister at Chatillon to conclude a treaty with the allies, by which the fortresses of Antwerp, Mayence, and Alexandria were to be surrendered to them as pledges of the fulfilment of the stipulations ; but at the same time instructions were added, which could only proceed from a mind capable of every delusion and atrocity, and executed only by a servant worthy of such a master.

The reader shall have the despatch and judge for himself. It is from the Duke of Bassano, to the Duke of Vicenza.

SIR, *March 19, 1814.*

Your excellency will have received, or will, doubtless in the course of to-day, receive a despatch from Rheims of which M. Frochot was the bearer, and which was accompanied by a letter from the Emperor.

The Emperor desires that you will avoid explaining yourself clearly upon every thing which may relate to delivering up the fortresses of Antwerp, Mayence, and Alexandria, if you should be obliged to consent to these cessions : his majesty intending, even though he should have ratified the treaty, to be guided by the military situation of affairs. Wait till the last moment. The bad faith of the allies in respect to the capitulations of Dresden, Dantzic, and Gorkum authorizes us to endeavour not to be duped. Refer, therefore, these questions to a military

arrangement as was done at Presburg, Vienna, and Tilsit. His Majesty desires that you will not lose sight of the disposition which he feels not to deliver up those three keys of France, if military events, on which he is willing still to rely, should permit him not to do so, even if he should have signed the cession of all those fortresses. In a word, his Majesty wishes to be able after the treaty to be guided by circumstances to the last moment. He orders you to burn this letter as soon as you have read it."

The allies now declared that they would no longer treat with him or his family. By this act of unexampled treachery he had excluded himself from the pale of civil society. What reliance then could be placed on his present professions?

Not yet firmly seated on his throne, his army disorganized, and his funds exhausted, there was every probability of crushing him by one simultaneous effort. But if he was permitted to mature his projects, and call into action the yet powerful resources of France, the attempt to destroy, or even to curb him might be impracticable.

If they suffered him to remain unmolested, the peace, if peace it could be called, would be a feverish state of anxiety and suspicion, as expensive and burdensome as war. Until he had given satisfactory and unequivocal proof that his character was indeed changed, and many long

years must have elapsed ere that could have been given, the powers of Europe must have remained in arms. Every measure would have been scrutinized with suspicion. Jealousy and mistrust would have rankled in the minds of either party, and whatever had been the wish of Buonaparte, the restless character of his army would have compelled him to some aggression, when he would have been better able to resist and to foil their attempts to subdue him.

It was futile to say that he had now allied himself to a party which had the real interests of France at heart, and which had both the will and the power to restrain his aggressions abroad and his tyranny at home. It was not the first time that he had connected himself with the well-wishers to France, and after he had used them as the means of attaining the summit of his wishes, had deluded, discarded, and destroyed them*.

* He was under the necessity of choosing as agents and ministers, men whom he inwardly detested. It was galling to his pride to be obliged to submit to those whom he had formerly compelled either to obey him or be silent. At the commencement of his consulate he was, in the same manner, obliged to feign sentiments to which his heart was a stranger: but he sapped by degrees the foundation of the edifice which he had raised. In proportion as his strength increased, he freed himself from some principles and some men. The tribunate was first purified and afterwards destroyed. He preserved only two political bodies, enslaved by terror, the one to deliver up to him the wealth of France, the other to lavish for him her blood.

On these grounds, therefore, the war which united Europe prepared to wage against him, was not only justifiable, but necessary. The disposition of the French army, nay, even of the French people, and the character of the individual at the head of the government, demonstrated that surrounding nations could not be at peace. The restless ambition and thirst of foreign conquest, and the disregard for the rights and independence of other states, which had characterized Napoleon and his army, exposed the whole of Europe to renewed scenes of devastation and blood. His destruction, as a ruler, was therefore required, not only as an expiation of former crimes, but as a necessary measure of precaution and security. The unbounded influence which he had hitherto exerted over a people so vain-glorious, so volatile, and so demoralized as the French, and the calamities in which, by these means, he had involved every surrounding country, not only justified those countries in uniting, but imperiously called upon them to unite, and pro-

He is now pursuing the same path. He embraces liberty, only to destroy it. What he desires above all things is the means of military success. When he shall have obtained these, he will throw off the mask, laugh at the constitution to which he had sworn, and again resume his character and his empire. Sparta is his model in the hour of danger, Constantinople in that of triumph!

Report on the State of France by M. Chateaubriand.

hibit France from again placing herself at the disposal of a man in whose hands she must ever be an object of alarm and terror.

Candour requires the acknowledgment, that some enlightened men, who had the best opportunity for observing him, and who would not be easily imposed upon, were persuaded that the intentions of Napoleon were honest. They imagined that he had seen the folly of his conduct ; that he wished to atone for his errors, and that he had determined to respect the liberties of France and the peace of Europe. His conduct in the trying scenes that succeeded the battle of Waterloo, when he steadfastly refused to assume the dictatorship, when no entreaties of his misguided friends, or even of his brothers, could induce him to violate the rights of the legislature, favours this supposition. It has already been stated that Carnot was of this opinion.

Others with some degree of plausibility reasoned thus :—The ruling passion of Napoleon is ambition. That passion is not, never can be extinct. To excite the admiration of his contemporaries, and to become the hero of future annals, is the grand aim of all his actions, the only end for which he appears to live ; for this he will commit crime without malignant intention, and practise virtue without merit.

The same passion which formerly suggested the romantic plan of universal empire, will now

direct and constrain him to adopt an opposite course. Public opinion, on which he so much depends, and which is so necessary to his existence, repels with horror the chains of despotism, even though fabricated of gold, and the palms of victory if stained with blood. Opinion, the mistress of the masters of the world, now exacts from him peace and liberty; peace founded on justice and cemented by good faith, and liberty protected and supported by the laws. At this price she promises him glory and immortality, and at this price he will purchase the objects of his most ardent wishes.

This reasoning, however plausible, however interesting, would not heal the yet bleeding wounds, which Russia, Prussia, and Austria, had received at Friedland, Jena, and Austerlitz. The allies could not and ought not to trust him. He had no pledges to give, and without sufficient pledges they were not justified in compromising the peace and security of Europe. Allowing that he was now sincere in his wish for peace, it was necessary that the world should receive in his punishment an awful and instructive example of the fatal consequences of crime. After long habits of depravity, no professed change of sentiment, no protestations of repentance will or can be regarded.

The war was justifiable on another principle. The allies had granted much better terms to France than they would have granted had Buona-

parte been on the throne. They granted these advantageous terms on the plain and evident understanding, that Buonaparte was for ever excluded from the government. But he had assumed the reins of power. The fundamental principle of the treaty was therefore violated, and the allies were again in an actual state of war with France, if they deemed it prudent to renew the contest.

The question may be summed up by an extract from the luminous and argumentative speech of Lord Grenville in the debate of the house of peers, May 25th. The author cannot subscribe to every position of the noble lord, but cheerfully accedes to his general conclusion. After stating that by the violation of the treaty of Paris, the allies were now actually at war with Buonaparte, and that it was not a question whether we should make war, but whether we should conclude a peace ; he adverts to the character of the French ruler as incompatible with the security of Europe.

“ No reasonable man,” he said, “ certainly no man in that house could confide in the security to be found in treaty with Buonaparte. Security must be looked for in other means. Speaking of the security or insecurity of treaties, he should not attempt a statement of how many violations Buonaparte had been guilty, but he would ask any one to shew him one country, during the last ten or twelve years, which had sought peace or safety

by treaty with him, that had not found itself visited with the highest aggravations of the very evils it had attempted to ward off. Instead of enumerating violations, he would ask who would rest his security on Buonaparte, and who would point out a treaty with him that was not followed by the disadvantage of the other contracting party? His noble friend (Earl Grey) in a laudable anxiety for peace, in which he fully shared with him, had indulged in expectations in which he could not indulge. Age certainly imposed limits on the activity and ambition of man ; but that had not as yet occurred : little had occurred since his return which he could trace to the amendment of his disposition. God forbid he should suppose that no amendment could take place in any man : but in looking to the general safety of nations, and to the happiness and existence of his own country, he could not rest upon probabilities merely, where, especially, he saw no reasonable hopes, and when the very act of the man, which occasioned the present crisis, was one of the strongest examples of his faithlessness and ambition which his life had offered."

Afterwards speaking of the fall of Lewis, he says, " He was the victim of peace. He was the sacrifice of his good faith. It was because he was the friend of peace, and was desirous to keep peace with the other countries of Europe, that a soldiery accustomed to rapine, and raised by their former

chief to principalities and powers carved out of the just rights of other people, were discontented, and desired no monarch but a general prepared to renew the work of spoliation. Was it nothing to be desired to sanction a system under which Europe had so long groaned, with such an army, and such a chief at its head? If his disposition was said to have undergone some change, his situation was now again changed, and as the army was formerly upheld by spoliation and plunder, so now for the same objects he was recalled by his former instruments, who alone could maintain him in his recovered power. If any person would consider the present situation of Buonaparte in France, it must appear that judging by all human probabilities, it would be necessary for him, even supposing we were inclined to remain at peace with him, to keep his army in good humour by leading them on to unprovoked aggression against some foreign nation, which would force us into the contest however we might be disinclined to it. If we were to look at all his former policy we should see that he was under a sort of necessity to endeavour to maintain his power by the same means by which he had acquired it."

It is unnecessary to enlarge on the remaining part of the justificatory paper of the allies. The concluding sentences of the second division are admirably expressed and contain unanswerable reasoning.

“ The commission thinks it unnecessary to enter at present into an exposition of the considerations which, under the last point of view, have directed the measures of cabinets. It will be sufficient to remind them, that the man, who now offers to sanction the treaty of Paris, and pretends to substitute his guarantee for that of a sovereign whose loyalty was unstained, and his benevolence unbounded, is the same who, for fifteen years, has ravaged and convulsed the earth to find food for his ambition ; who has sacrificed millions of victims, and the happiness of a whole generation to a system of conquest, which truces, little entitled to the name of peace, have only served to render more oppressive and more odious ; who, after having by his senseless enterprises tired even fortune, armed all Europe against him, and exhausted all the means of France, has been compelled to renounce his projects, and abdicate his power, in order to save some wrecks of his existence ; who, at a time when the nations of Europe gave themselves up to the hope of enjoying lasting tranquillity, has meditated fresh catastrophes, and through an act of double treason, both towards the powers who had too generously spared him, and towards a government which he could only attack through the blackest treachery, has usurped a throne which he had renounced, and which he had only occupied to inflict misery on France, and on the world. This man had no other

guarantee to propose to Europe but his word. After the cruel experience of fifteen years, who would be rash enough to accept that guarantee? And if the French nation has really embraced his cause, who would have more respect for the guarantee which she may offer?—Peace with a government placed to such hands, and composed of such elements would only prove a perpetual state of uncertainty, anxiety, and danger. No powers could really disarm; nations would not enjoy any of the advantages of a true pacification; they would be crushed by expense of all kinds. As confidence would no where revive, industry and commerce would every where languish: there would be no stability in political relations;—gloomy discontent would sit brooding on every country, and alarmed Europe would daily expect fresh explosions. The sovereigns have certainly not mistaken the interests of their subjects, when they have thought that open war, with all its inconveniencies, and all its sacrifices, preferable to such a state: and the measures which they have adopted, have met with general approbation. The opinion of Europe has pronounced itself on this great occasion in a most positive and most solemn manner. Never has it been possible more clearly to ascertain the sentiments of nations, and more faithfully to interpret them, than at a moment when the representatives of all the powers were united to consolidate the peace of the world.”

In the mean time Napoleon anticipating the designs of the allies, continued the most vigorous preparations for the approaching contest. Every effort was made to increase the regular army, and the following energetic proclamation was published.

“ You earnestly wished for your Emperor. He is arrived. You have supported him with all your efforts. Rally with all possible despatch around your standards, that you may be ready to defend your country against enemies who are desirous of regulating our national colours, imposing sovereigns upon us, and dictating constitutions. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of every Frenchman, already accustomed to war, to join the imperial standard. Let us present a frontier of brass to our enemies, and prove to them that we are always the same.

“ Soldiers!—Whether you have obtained unlimited or limited furloughs, or whether you have received your discharge, if your wounds are healed, and you are in a state fit to serve, come and join the army! Honour, your country, your emperor invites you!

“ With what reproaches would you not have cause to overwhelm me, were our fine country again to be ravaged by those soldiers whom you so often vanquished, and were the foreigner to invade and obliterate France from the map of Europe.

(Signed) “ The Prince of ECKMÜHL.”

The national guards were ordered to be embodied, and distributed among the different fortresses of the country. Three thousand one hundred and thirty battalions of seven hundred and twenty men each were commanded to be immediately equipped for service, making a grand total of two millions two hundred and fifty-five thousand and forty soldiers. Had he been able to have called into action this immense body, and to have instilled a sufficient portion of enthusiasm into their ranks, he might have bid defiance to the world. But scarcely a tenth part were ever enrolled, and only a few battalions opposed any effectual resistance to the invaders. In some departments the guards altogether refused to be embodied; in others they would not march beyond their native province; and in many places when they were compelled to march, they found means to desert at every turning, and ere the battalion had proceeded many leagues from the frontiers of the department every soldier had disappeared.

The old soldiers, however, crowded to the imperial standard, and a brave and numerous army was soon placed at his disposal, with which he might expect at least to open the campaign with eclat; and he indulged the hope that some brilliant action at the commencement of the contest might excite the enthusiasm of the French, or disconcert or disunite the Allies.

Justly alarmed at the confederation which threat-

ened him, he was anxious to increase his disposable force. "I must have an immediate levy of three hundred thousand men," said he one day to Carnot. "The thing is impossible," was the reply. "But are not the conscript laws in existence?"—"Yes, but they will no longer be obeyed as formerly."—"What! am I not still Emperor?" "Yes, Sire! but with restrictions and limits." Napoleon broke out into one of his paroxysms of rage and quitted the council.

Numerous workmen were now employed in fortifying the heights of Montmartre, Chaumont, and Mesnil-Montant, in the neighbourhood of Paris. This was strenuously opposed by Carnot, as calculated to alarm and disgust the citizens. It would shew the fear which Napoleon entertained that the Allies might again penetrate to Paris, and his determination to expose his capital to the horrors of a siege. If either of these suspicions were powerfully excited it must necessarily injure his cause.

When he first proposed this measure to the council of his ministers, he asked Carnot what time and money would be necessary. "Two hundred millions and three years," replied the minister, "and when the works are completed, I would only require sixty thousand men and twenty-four hours to destroy all." Buonaparte smothered his rising passion, but persisted in his determination.

Orders were issued to inspect and complete the for-

tifications of every garrison town. Soissons, Laon, Lafère, Saint-Quentin, Guise, Château-Thierry, Vitry, and Langres were placed in a respectable state of defence. Chalons, Rheims, Dijon, the Vosges, Jura, and Argonne, already strong by nature, were rendered nearly impregnable. Many hundred workmen were daily employed in the fortifications of Lyons, and no effort was spared to oppose every obstacle to the progress of the invader. Every defile was guarded;—fortifications were erected at the heads of the bridges;—batteries crowned the summit of every mountain, and the din of preparation sounded from the northern frontier to the Mediterranean sea.

On his first landing in France Napoleon had pledged himself to give the French a constitution agreeable to their wishes, and favourable to their liberties. He now hastened to redeem his pledge. Inclination and necessity equally prompted this measure. He appointed a commission to draw up the form of a constitution to be submitted to the choice of the nation. Bishop Gregoire, well known for his attachment to rational liberty, and Benjamin Constant, who had so lately and so boldly spoken his sentiments of the Emperor, and so strenuously opposed his cause, were members of this commission.

After labouring some time in this honourable employment, it occurred to them, that the pledge would be best redeemed if the plan of the consti-

tution did not emanate from any commission formed by the Emperor, but that the electoral colleges should nominate one person from each department to prepare the outline of the constitutional charter. Napoleon assented to this, and measures were ordered to be taken accordingly. But in the mean time the difficulties of his situation pressed upon him. The allies were advancing on every side. They threatened soon to cross the frontiers, and long before these commissioners could have been appointed, and collected together at Paris, and there prepared the important documents and that document could have been transmitted to the departments, and the will of the nation declared respecting it, the war would certainly have commenced ; and had it commenced before France had any settled or acknowledged government, the utmost confusion would have prevailed, and the resources for carrying on the war could not have been provided. He therefore resolved, in opposition to the advice of many of his friends, to offer to the acceptance of the people, a constitution neither digested by the first commissioners, nor by those who were to have been appointed by the departments, but principally drawn up by himself, with the assistance of some zealous yet rational friends of freedom.

This gave great discontent and displeasure. It resembled the arbitrary measures which had distinguished his former course. It was a breach of

his most solemn promise. It was not a constitution framed by the people. They were not permitted to alter or modify a single article, and were confined to the simple approval or rejection of the whole.

It had been justly objected to Lewis, that he had *given* a constitution to the French, and not *accepted* it from them, and Napoleon, after having explicitly acknowledged that to the people alone belonged the right of choosing their own charter, trod in the footsteps of the former government, and gave his subjects a constitution in his turn. The French had imagined that the Champ de Mai would have been convoked for some other purpose, than to examine a list of votes, and that the representatives of a great nation would there have exercised the privilege of discussing with the sovereign the rights, and privileges, and welfare of their constituents.

It was likewise expected that Napoleon would have recognized his former abdication, and left the choice of the dynasty, as well as the form of the government, to the free will of the people. This would have been an easy and a safe compliment to the French. His re-election would have been secure, and the people would have been enthusiastically and inseparably attached to him, who was, by this solemn and public act, the man of their choice.

It was seriously proposed in the council, that Napoleon should for the present lay aside the title

of Emperor, and assume that of Generalissimo, or President of the Republic. To this, after a temporary burst of passion, he consented. Davoust and Décre's, who strenuously opposed this humiliation of their master, were to be dismissed from the cabinet, and Lucien Buonaparte appointed minister of the interior, Carnot minister of war, and Merlin minister of justice. When suddenly, Napoleon repented of his moderation, and determined to avoid every contest respecting his title and re-election to power, by publishing the Additional Act on his own authority, as, "By the Grace of God, Emperor of the French." This gave great offence, and particularly disgusted Fouché, who had warmly urged his temporary resignation.

The Duke of Otranto, in his official note presented to the ministers of the allied powers, on August 8th, says, "that public expectation was deceived to such a point, that a cry of indignation was heard from one end of France to the other;" and he adds, "it is to be regretted that at that decisive moment negotiations were not opened with the King as well as with the allied powers." But Carnot, as steady a friend of liberty as Fouché, when asked why he continued to rely on the vain promises of Buonaparte, after he had seen him resume his dictatorial habits, replied, that "he was not entirely undeceived by these dictatorial steps, though they were not what might have been expected after what he had promised, as they were

principally owing to the extraordinary steps which he was obliged to take with so much precipitation."

This probably is the real solution of the transaction. Whatever might have been his ulterior intentions, whatever his wishes to resume his former despotic sway, he would at first have redeemed his pledge. He would have permitted the French to form their own constitution, for he well knew that he would be placed at the head of the government; he was secure of the affection of the army; and he had had sufficient experience, that once fully invested with power, and flattering the darling passions of the French, his will would soon have become his only efficient law. The prompt and vigorous measures of the allies rendered it impossible to resort to the constitutional but dilatory forms which the sanguine and perhaps unreasonable advocates of freedom required. Had he indulged their wishes, the allies would have invaded a country without a government, and the exertions of the executive power would have been rendered impotent.

This important document he strangely called "An Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire." Although by the various articles of that act, every objectionable part of his former tyrannical government was removed, or rendered inert, yet he appeared to assume those Constitutions as the basis of his present charter, of which the French had so loudly and so justly complained,

and by which he had been able to lavish their wealth and their blood, and to drag his country to the verge of destruction. This gave considerable offence. It was impolitic, and might have been avoided. The very name of the "Additional Act," when he had pledged himself to give them a new Constitution, lost him the affections of thousands who had hitherto been devoted to his cause.

This Additional Act, however, contained in it every thing that reasonable men could desire. The preamble justly describes its character, and merits preservation.

"Napoleon by the Grace of God and the Constitutions, Emperor of the French; to all who are and shall be, health.

Since we were first called, now fifteen years past, by the wishes of France to the Government of the State, we have endeavoured to improve, at various periods, the constitutional forms according to the wants and desires of the nation, and profiting by the lessons of experience. The Constitutions of the empire have thus been formed from a series of acts which have been clothed with the approbation of the people. We then had for our object to organize a grand federate European system, which we had adopted as being conformable to the spirit of the age, and favourable to the progress of civilization. In order to complete this, and to give it all the extent and stability of which it was susceptible, we had postponed the establishment of many in-

ternal institutions, more especially those which were destined to protect the liberty of citizens. Henceforward our aim will only be to augment the prosperity of France by consolidating public liberty. From this results the necessity of many important modifications in the Constitutions, Senatus Consultums, and other acts which govern this empire. **FOR THESE REASONS**, wishing, on one side, to preserve of the past what is good and salutary, and, on the other, to render the Constitutions of our empire in every thing conformable to the national wishes and wants, as well as to the state of peace which we desire to maintain with Europe, we have resolved to refer to the people a series of propositions tending to modify and improve the Constitutional Acts, to surround the rights of citizens with all their safeguards, to give the representative system all its extension, to invest the intermediate corps with desirable importance and power; in short, to combine the highest point of political liberty and of individual safety with the strength and concentration necessary to cause foreign powers to respect the independence of the French people, and the dignity of our Crown. Consequently, the following articles, forming a Supplementary Act to the Constitutions of the empire, shall be submitted to the free and solemn acceptation of all the citizens throughout the whole of France."

The act is almost entirely founded on the model of the British Constitution, with such differ-

ences only as the situation of France, and the effects of the revolution rendered necessary. The prerogatives of the the sovereign are not enumerated. This is a strange and important omission, and loud were the complaints of many disappointed men. It was, however, understood that he was to possess the power of declaring war, and making treaties of peace, alliance, or commerce: but he depended on the grants of the chamber of representatives to render all these effectual. These grants were annual, and thus afforded the strongest check against unnecessary wars or extravagant expenditure. The Emperor had the nomination to all offices, including the prefects of the provinces, and the mayors of the towns. The first nomination to the peerage lay with him, but afterwards the peerage was hereditary. Every person possessed of one thousand francs per annum was eligible to the chamber of representatives, and every landed proprietor possessed the right of voting as an elector. The chamber was renewed every five years. The manufacturing and commercial interests had a special representation. The Emperor possessed the power of proroguing, adjourning, and dissolving the chamber of representatives, but the proclamation that pronounced the dissolution appointed a new meeting of representatives within six months at furthest. During the interval the peers could not sit. The government proposed all laws, to which the cham-

bers might move amendments ; and the chambers possessed the power of petitioning the government to prepare any law, on a determinate subject. The general and direct taxes, whether on lands or moveables, could be voted only for a year. No tax in money or kind could be appointed, no loan could be raised, no levy of men for the army could be ordered, but by virtue of a law, and the law of taxes, loans, and levies of men, could be made only in the chamber of representatives.

All the acts of government were to be countersigned by a minister holding a department, and those ministers were responsible for every act signed by them, and might at any time be accused by the chamber of representatives and judged by the peers. The Emperor appointed all judges, but they were irremovable, and for life. The institution of juries was maintained. All transactions in criminal matters were public. Military offences could only be tried by military tribunals, but all other offences, even if committed by soldiers, were within the jurisdiction of the civil tribunals. No person could be arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned, or exiled, except according to the forms prescribed by the laws. To this should have been added an imperative order to the judges to grant an habeas corpus, to bring any person arrested or detained before them, to ascertain the legality of the proceeding. Liberty of worship was granted to all. All property pos-

sessed or acquired according to the laws was inviolable. The freedom of the press was established, and every citizen had the right of printing and publishing his thoughts (signing his name) without any previous censorship, and subject only after the publication to legal responsibility by the verdict of a jury. The right of petitioning was assured to all citizens.

Such is the outline of this Additional Act. It doubtless had its imperfections. It was not what the republican party expected, and some of its articles gave offence to the moderates; but it secured to the French as much freedom as they were capable of bearing. It guaranteed to the people liberty without licentiousness, to the Prince power without despotism, and to the nation independence without anarchy.

It received the highest testimony of its general excellence which could possibly be given, in the unwilling encomium extorted from M. Chateaubriand, in his report of the state of France presented to Louis XVIII in council. "In other respects, Sire! the constitution of Buonaparte is a new homage to your wisdom. It is little different from the constitutional charter. He has only anticipated with his accustomed petulance, the improvements and completions which your prudence meditated*.

* Report, &c. Page 49.

An article was added to it in consequence of the declaration of the allies of the 13th of March, and as disgraceful as the style of that paper. The allies had excluded Napoleon from the pale of civil society, and he retaliates by for ever excluding the Bourbons from all eligibility to the throne. "The French people declare, moreover, that in the delegation which they have made, and which they shall make of their powers, they have not intended to give, nor do they give the right of proposing the re-establishment of the Bourbons, or any prince of that family on the throne, even in case of the extinction of the imperial dynasty." This was a mean and pitiful revenge, and injured him in the estimation of the most respectable classes of his subjects.

This additional act was offered to the acceptance or rejection of the French people. Every Frenchman of mature age was invited to inscribe his vote for or against it, in registers which were opened in every town and district. These votes were to be collected and the grand result published at the Champ de Mai, which was convened on the 26th of May.

The Champ de Mai, or Champ de Mars, is a large expanse in front of the Military School, bordered on both sides with double avenues of trees which extend from the school almost to the banks of the Seine. It was appropriated, like the Campus Martius at Rome, to the reviews of troops, and to horse and foot races on public festivals.

It did not, however, derive its name from any imitation of the Roman Campus Martius. In the early periods of the French monarchy, the general assemblies of the nation were held in this place. The objects of the meeting were to frame new laws, to submit the complaints of the people to the royal ear, to compose differences among the barons, and to review the forces of the kingdom. It was denominated the Champ de Mars, because the assembly took place in the month of March. In the middle of the eighth century, Pepin transferred it to the month of May as a milder and more convenient season. After this it was called either the Champ de Mars or the Champ de Mai. Under the second race of kings, similar meetings were held both in the beginning of the year, and in August or September. Under the third race they gradually changed their character, and assumed the title of Parliaments and États Genereaux, which they preserved to the period of the revolution.

One circumstance attending the promulgation of the Additional Act gave great and just offence to every moderate and reasonable man. The army and navy were invited to deliberate on it, and transmit their approval or dissent.

In every state which boasts the slightest portion of liberty a deliberative voice has been jealously withheld from the military. The duty of the army is to defend the country from invasion, and to obey

the commands of the executive power. Its very character renders it dangerous and fatal to freedom, to permit it to have a voice in the legislative deliberations of the country.

This novel compliment now paid to the army, was the result of the difficult circumstances in which Napoleon was placed. His whole dependence was on the attachment and devotion of his soldiers. His fate was in their hands ; and by their aid alone could he avert the destruction which threatened to overwhelm him. Yet even on this ground his conduct was not justifiable. It was an unnecessary violation of every constitutional principle. His troops would not have claimed a privilege, to which in no country had the army ever been entitled ; and the gratuitous offer of it excited in the mind of every rational man the most painful suspicions, and prepared the way for alienation and disgust.

The arrival of Lucien Buonaparte at this conjuncture was of infinite advantage to the Emperor. Lucien had been a sturdy republican. His talents were universally acknowledged, and his courageous opposition to the former tyranny of Napoleon was fresh in the memory of all. The reconciliation of the brothers was therefore regarded as a pledge of the sincerity of Buonaparte, and the triumph of liberty.

The motive for Lucien's return is somewhat difficult to appreciate. It had been universally acknowledged that he rivalled, and even excelled

Napoleon in the powers of his mind ; and the noble resistance which he had made to the tyranny of his brother had raised him high in the public estimation. He had nobly refused to co-operate in the plans of Napoleon, as soon as he was convinced that his ultimate object was not the welfare of France and the triumph of liberty, but the gratification of his own inordinate ambition. He refused, although he was tempted by a crown ; and retiring from public life, he passed many years happily employed in the education of his family, and the cultivation of literature and the arts.

Had Lucien, prompted by that fraternal affection, which all the atrocities of Napoleon's character, and all the injuries that had been heaped on himself had not been able entirely to obliterate, resolved to sacrifice his former principles and his well-earned fame, to support the desperate fortunes of his brother, and assist him in re-establishing his former despotism ; or did he believe that the Emperor must have learned some wisdom in the school of adversity, and hope that his influence might confirm every good resolution, and secure the true glory of Napoleon's future reign, and the welfare and liberty of France ? Posterity will decide this point, and the course of our narrative will throw considerable light on it.

While the French were deliberating on the Additional Act, Napoleon left no means unattempted to disunite the coalesced powers, or to drive off the

evil day. Overtures were made to the Court of Vienna, proposing to abdicate the throne in favour of his son, and that the Empress should be appointed Regent in the name of the young Napoleon; at the same time the Emperor solemnly pledged himself that he would not interfere in the affairs of France. These overtures were regarded as a proof of weakness, and no notice was taken of them.

Other offers of the most alluring nature were then made. Napoleon proposed to abandon, and even to unite in crushing Murat, who had penetrated through the Papal territories, repulsed the Austrian forces, and threatened to wrest the whole of Italy from the Austrian yoke. These overtures, tempting as they were, remained equally disregarded; and the foolish impetuosity of Murat soon exposed him to destruction.

Joachim Murat had been avowedly placed on the throne of Naples by his brother-in-law Napoleon, to assist him in the grand projects which he meditated; but in 1813, when the fortunes of the Emperor were evidently declining, Murat followed the example of every surrounding power, and not only renounced his alliance, but swelled the ranks of his enemies. It was at that time expressly stipulated that, as the price of his joining the confederacy against France, he should be permitted to hold the undisturbed sovereignty of Naples.

Whether compelled by necessity, or actuated

by principle, he joined the confederacy, and materially contributed to the deliverance of Europe. But when his assistance was no longer required, some of the allies began to recollect that he was one of the family of Buonaparte, one of Napoleon's kings, and that they should violate the general principles which they had laid down as the rule of their conduct, if any of the upstart monarchs of the revolution were permitted to reign in Europe.

It is well known, that in the deliberations of the congress, Talleyrand repeatedly demanded his dethronement, and that his expulsion was seriously meditated. It was even demi-officially asserted, that "the throne of Naples could not be occupied by a soldier of fortune without violating the policy of the sovereigns ;—that they had consecrated the principles of hereditary right, and this included the dethronement of usurpers."

Murat had watched the proceedings of Congress with the utmost anxiety ; and foreseeing what would be the result of their determinations, took advantage of the disaffection of the Italian states to the Austrian domination, and advancing through the ecclesiastical states, proclaimed the independence and liberty of Italy. It was preconcerted between him and Napoleon, that the enterprise of each should be undertaken at the same time.

The history of the Neapolitan war belongs not to the present work. It will be sufficient to state,

that not receiving from the Italians the support which he expected, he was soon crushed by the overwhelming power of the Austrians, and Ferdinand reinstated on the throne of his ancestors.

However low the origin of Murat, and however disputable the right by which he first assumed the throne, it cannot be denied that he was one of the best of Napoleon's kings. He evidently had the interests of Naples at heart, and he had gained the affections of every class of his subjects. The Neapolitans were unanimous in the expression of their ardent wishes, that they might never more be subject to the despotism of their former tyrants, and that the arbiters of the destinies of nations might permit their present sovereign to realize all the happy prospects which were unfolding to their view.*

* The termination of Murat's political career was sudden and tragical. Driven from the Neapolitan dominions he sought refuge in France, and there, on the return of the Bourbons, he was persecuted and proscribed. He had hired a vessel at Toulon on the intelligence of their arrival, by which he might effect his escape, but the ship sailed without him, carrying away all his effects and attendants. He was left completely destitute, and wandered about more than a fortnight in the woods, subsisting on a few pieces of brown bread which he obtained from the humanity of the neighbouring shepherds. He, at length, threw himself on the mercy of the inmates of a small villa near Toulon, where he remained concealed more than a month, indebted for his daily food to the benevolence of two naval officers. While he remained in concealment he wrote repeatedly and ineffectually to some friends at Paris, claiming their interference and protection. His

letters were either intercepted, or neglected. The place of his retreat was now discovered. A band of more than sixty armed men surrounded the house, and he had scarcely time to escape to an adjoining vineyard, carrying with him two brace of pistols, and resolved to sell his life as dearly as possible, and to die rather than fall into the power of his enemies. They passed him threatening vengeance as he lay concealed in the thick foliage. The search was continued several days, without success, and a reward was set upon his head. He tremblingly stole from his retreat every night, and received some scanty and precarious subsistence from the officers, who would not even now desert him; and at length he was enabled, by their means, to escape to Bastia in Corsica. They were immediately cashiered, and thrown into prison.

From Bastia he removed to Ajaccio, where he was joined by many of his friends. An offer was here made by the court of Austria, to grant him an honourable and safe retreat in any part of the Austrian dominions, on condition of his renouncing for ever the Neapolitan throne. To this he pretended to consent, that he might better conceal his real intentions. He had been informed of the unpopularity of Ferdinand, he knew that he was beloved by every class of his former subjects, and he had received many invitations to return, and resume his kingdom. In vain his confidential friends endeavoured to dissuade him from the rash enterprise; in vain they represented the improbability of his first success, and the total impossibility of resisting the overwhelming force which Austria and England would bring upon him. He replied, that "he could not submit to the humiliating conditions imposed upon him;—that there was neither moderation nor justice in compelling him to live in perpetual captivity under the arbitrary laws of a despotic government;—that this was not the respect due to an unfortunate monarch who had been formerly acknowledged by all Europe, and who, in a most critical period, had undertaken the campaign of 1814 in favour of those very powers, that now, contrary to their own interests, conspired to crush him;—that England and Austria would have

nothing to fear from him;—that he would not have driven the Austrians beyond the Po, had he not known that it was their determination to attack him;—that it could not now be attributed to him, that he would unite himself with Napoleon, who was an exile on the rocks of St. Helena;—that England and Austria might expect from him many advantages, for which they would in vain look from the person by whom he was supplanted;—that the majority of his subjects ardently expected his return, and that he was resolved to place himself at their head;—that he had often exposed himself to death in its most frightful forms, and that he was not afraid once more to defy it in the attempt to regain his rights, and deliver himself from undeserved oppression;—and that his only fears were for his beloved family.”

He disposed of all his jewels and effects, and purchasing six gondolas, set sail from Bastia, September 28th, 1815, with two hundred soldiers and thirty officers. On the night of the 30th a violent tempest arose, and dispersed the little fleet; and on the 5th of October, rejoining another of his vessels, he was compelled to land at Pizzo, on the coast of Calabria, with fifty men. Few troops were quartered on this part of the coast, but no preparation been made for his reception. He immediately proceeded to the great square; assembled the people; reminded them of the benefits which they had received from him, and the fidelity which they had expressed; and told them, that, recalled by the affection of his countrymen, he was come to resume possession of his throne. A few voices joined his officers in shouting “Long live King Joachim;” but the population of the neighbouring villages hastily collecting, armed themselves and attacked him, and, after a desperate resistance, routed his little army, and took him prisoner. A court-martial was immediately assembled; he was brought before it, and tried on one of his own laws, which decreed, that any person landing in the country with an intent of disturbing the public tranquillity should be shot. Ferdinand at first refused to sign the warrant for his death, but being at length prevailed on by his ministers, orders were given for the immediate execution of the prisoner. When Murat was in-

formed that his fate was decided, he expressed some surprise and indignation, but, immediately recollecting himself, requested a pair of scizzars to cut off his hair, in order to send it to his wife, but this was cruelly refused. He then intreated that he might be shot by the small detachment of his guard which was at Pizzo; this was also refused. His request that the execution might take place in the Great Hall of the Commandant of Pizzo was acceded to. Twelve Sicilian soldiers were then placed close to the door of the apartment. Murat bid farewell to the priest who accompanied him, entered resolutely into the hall, uncovered his breast, gave the word "Fire," and immediately fell, pierced by eight balls.

CHAPTER IX.

Proceedings of the King at Ghent.—Preparations of the Allies.—Enumeration of their Forces.—Efforts of Napoleon.—Emissaries at Brussels.—Conduct of Napoleon at the Council.—Confederation of the Suburbs.

LEWIS XVIII had retired from Lisle to Ghent, where he was surrounded by his small but faithful court, and whence he issued a variety of proclamations, which were the theme of ridicule among the adherents of Buonaparte, or only acquired importance by their connexion with the operations of the allies.

The declaration of the 12th of April deserves to be recorded on account of the moderation which it breathes, and the early avowal of the determination of the allies to re-seat the Bourbons on the throne.

“ *Ghent, April 12, 1815.*

“At the moment when we are about to place ourselves amid our people, we consider that we owe them, in the face of Europe, a formal declaration of our intentions.

When Heaven and the nation recalled us to the

throne, we made before God the solemn promise, very soothing to our heart, to forget injuries, and to labour without relaxation for the happiness of our subjects.—The sons of St. Lewis have never betrayed either Heaven or their country.

Already had our people recovered, through our care, plenty at home, peace abroad, and the esteem of all nations;—already the throne, weakened by so many shocks, had begun to be firmly established, when treason forced us to quit our capital, and to seek refuge on the confines of our states. However, Europe has taken up arms.—Europe faithful to its treaties, will know no other King of France except ourselves.—Twelve hundred thousand men are about to march, to assure the repose of the world, and, a second time, to deliver our fine country.

In this state of things, a man, whose whole strength is at present made up of artifice and delusion, endeavours to lead astray the spirit of the nation by his fallacious promises, to raise it against its king, and to drag it along with him into the abyss, as if to accomplish his frightful prophecy of 1814:—"If I fall, it shall be known how much the overthrow of a great man costs."

Amid the alarms which the present danger of France has revived in our hearts, the crown, which we have never looked upon but as the power of doing good, would to our eyes have lost all its charms, and we should have returned with

pride to the exile in which twenty years of our life were spent in dreaming of the happiness of the French people, if our country was not menaced for the future with all the calamities which our restoration had terminated,—and if we were not the guarantees for France to the other sovereigns. The sovereigns who now afford so strong a mark of their affection cannot be abused by the cabinet of Buonaparte, with the Machiavelism of which they are acquainted. United by the friendship and interests of their people, they march without hesitation to the glorious end where Heaven has placed the general peace and happiness of nations.

Thoroughly convinced, in spite of all the tricks of a policy now at its last extremity, that the French nation has not made itself an accomplice in the attempts of the army, and that the small number of Frenchmen who have been led astray must soon be sensible of their error, they regard France as their ally. Wherever they shall find the French people faithful, the fields will be respected, the labourer protected, and the poor succoured. They will reserve the weight of the war to let it fall on those provinces, who, at their approach, refuse to return to their duty.

This restriction, directed by prudence, would sensibly afflict us if our people were less known to us; but whatever the fears may be with which it is endeavoured to inspire them with respect to our intentions, since our allies make war only

against rebels, our people have nothing to dread; and we rejoice to think that their love for us shall not have been altered by a short absence, nor by the calumnies of libellers, nor by the promises of the chief of a faction, too much convinced of his weakness not to caress those who burn to destroy him.

On our return to our capital, a return which we consider to be near at hand, our first care shall be to recompense virtuous citizens, who have devoted themselves to the good cause, and to labour to banish even the very appearance of those disasters which may have withdrawn from us some of the French people.

(Signed) LEWIS."

A circumstance occurred at this time, which though it was productive of no important political consequences, must have been highly gratifying to the monarch and his little court. In commemoration of his entry into Paris, on May 3d, 1814, and the warm attachment which the national guard had expressed for his person, Lewis had declared that on the anniversary of that day he would commit himself to their protection, and they alone should do the duty of the palace. When the 3d of May approached, thirty young men of respectable families, and belonging to the Parisian national guard, secretly left the capital, and effected their escape to Ghent. Arriving there, they concealed themselves and the purport of their

journey till the morning of the 3d, when they unexpectedly appeared before their colonel, the Count d'Artois, and demanded their privilege. The prince immediately conducted them to his august brother, who received them with kindness, and was moved even to tears. He gratified them by consenting to their request; his household troops were dismissed for the day, and the good monarch, though in exile, once more had the delight to see himself surrounded and protected by the faithful guards of his good city of Paris.

The activity of the warlike preparations of the Allies knew no relaxation. When Lewis first retired to Ghent, the British force in Belgium did not consist of more than fifteen thousand men, the Belgian troops did not equal that number, and the Prussians in Luxemburgh and the neighbourhood of Juliers and Cleves scarcely exceeded forty thousand men. This was the only force which could have been opposed to a sudden irruption of the French. Before the middle of June the British force had increased to sixty thousand men, and the King of the Netherlands had more than half as many. One hundred and fifty thousand Austrians, disengaged from Murat, were ready to penetrate by the Alps; one hundred and fifty thousand more had nearly reached the Rhine: two hundred and twenty-five thousand Russians had almost advanced to the frontiers of France, and six corps of Prussians, consisting in the whole of two

hundred and thirty-six thousand men, were ready to penetrate the French territory at various points. If to these be added the contingents from the various states of Germany, amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand men, it will appear that a million of soldiers were under arms, and within a few weeks' march of France.

At the head of these formidable armies were the most renowned generals of the age. Some of them had already fought successfully against Napoleon, and others had acquired equal fame by vanquishing every marshal who had been opposed to them. Prince Schwartzenberg was commander in chief of the Austrians, having under his orders Field-marshal Bellegarde, and generals Frimont, Bianchi, and Vincent. The Russians were commanded by the Grand Duke Constantine, seconded by generals Barclay de Tolly, Sacken, and Langeron. Prince Blucher headed the Prussians with generals Kliest, Yorck, and Bulow; and the Duke of Wellington commanded the British and Belgians, assisted by the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, generals Picton, Beresford, Clinton, and a long list of heroes.

To excite the enthusiasm of their troops the continental sovereigns once more took the field in person, and followed the operations of the armies.

In Prussia, Austria, Russia, and England, the popular opinion coincided with the determina-

tion of the governments, to prosecute the war with ardour. It was a contest between the people of Europe and the army of France. All appeared to be animated by one common spirit, yet the calm observer saw, or fancied that he discerned, some seeds and symptoms of disunion, which considerable reverses might ripen into action. The Belgian troops had manifested considerable disaffection. Two regiments had openly mutinied and attempted to pass over to the enemy, and British and Belgian blood had flowed in the conflict by which their treasonable purpose was defeated. The Saxon troops had refused to march against the French. Some regiments had been nearly decimated, and others were sent back to the garrisons of Prussia. The Italians, though again subdued to the Austrian yoke, were far from being reconciled to their masters, and notwithstanding the daring attempt of Murat had failed, would have found full employment for the whole Austrian power, had the reverses of the allies afforded them any reasonable prospect of success.

In the British parliament, the ministers had a majority of 112 in the house of Peers, and of 239 in the house of commons. They had likewise the satisfaction of being supported by a Grenville, a Plunkett, and a Grattan. In a former chapter the reader has been presented with some admirable quotations from the speech of the first; and the arguments of the last of these statesmen, were so

evidently founded on the truest policy and enforced by such glowing eloquence, that the author laments that the limits of his work will not permit him to give some extracts.

Napoleon had but three hundred thousand men on the frontiers to oppose against the overwhelming force of the allies. The national guards* however were in reserve, amounting to two millions of men, if he could fortunately succeed in inspiring them with zeal in his cause. But of this there appeared no hope. The Additional Act had weakened his popularity, and destroyed his influence. One of his best friends acknowledged that it had lost him a million of men. It was, however, impossible to retract. The contest, unequal as it was, must be attempted, and his only hope consisted in some brilliant enterprise which might cut off the advanced columns of the allies, and carrying the war into the enemy's country, encourage the disaffected to shew themselves, and rouse the enthusiasm of the French.

The emissaries of Buonaparte were now actively employed in every part of Europe, transmitting intelligence of the state of public opinion,

* The national guard of France is composed of all the housekeepers and landed proprietors, commanded by officers taken from among themselves. They did military service in their respective towns and villages, and assembled whenever the public safety required it.

and the preparations of the allies, or executing his secret orders. Two ludicrous instances of the detection of his agents occurred at Brussels.

The members of a French family were arrested at the hotel Bellevue, in consequence of the discovery that a letter was enclosed in the collar of their dog involving some interesting facts relative to the state. This animal was to have been despatched with a servant on the ensuing day as *courier extraordinaire*.

A young lady of condition soon afterwards arrived at the same hotel with a suite of domestics. As one of her household passed along the saloon of the hotel he was recognised by an officer as an active adherent of Napoleon. Information was immediately given at the police-office, and proper persons were despatched to inquire into the affair. As the police officers entered the lady's apartment, they observed a man habited as a peasant coming out of her chamber with a small brown loaf under his arm. On perceiving the unwelcome visitors he hastily descended the stair-case, chanting "*Vive Henry Quatre!*" and keeping his right eye in an inquisitorial direction over his shoulder. When the officers entered the lady's room she was reading a letter, which she instantly tore in pieces. On gathering up the fragments, it proved to be a despatch from the principal agent of the French government. It is needless to add that

the lady and her attendants were immediately carried away and properly disposed of.

When the seeming peasant had been secured below, he wanted to give his loaf with an air of charity to a miserable looking woman who was begging in the street; but the officers, suspecting from his great solicitude to get rid of his bread, that there was something more than ordinary in the affair, seized the loaf, and on breaking it, discovered several letters for Paris, one of which was directed to Napoleon himself.

The discontents in France evidently increased, and open insurrections burst out in many of the departments. In Languedoc, Bretagne, and Anjou, numerous armed bands appeared, and contended with various success against the forces of Napoleon. Yet the general feeling of the people, though their enthusiasm was considerably abated, was evidently in his favour. They suspected and feared him, but they feared yet more the return of their former masters, backed by the force of united Europe. The new proprietors especially felt that their security was inseparably connected with the cause of Napoleon.

Harassed by the frequent accounts which were received of the discontent of the people, and the partial successes of the royalists, and discovering that, even in his very capital, an extensive correspondence was carried on with the Bourbons, he

one day proposed at the council, a domiciliary visit through Paris to search for papers and suspected persons. This harsh measure, which would have powerfully reminded the people of the worst periods of the revolution, was strenuously opposed by Fouché. Napoleon, enraged, demanded his portfolio. "There it is," replied the minister, "but I will not answer for your life to-morrow." This menace startled the Emperor. He mused for a moment, and restored the portfolio with some apology for his hastiness.

He then insisted that if the domiciliary visit was abandoned, the punishment of death should be denounced against every emigrant. Here Cambacères interfered, and represented that France and Europe would be indignant at a decree so unnecessarily cruel and unjust, and which could only find its parallel among the bloodiest acts of Robespierre. The Emperor again yielded to one of those ungovernable bursts of passion by which he had been formerly characterized, and accused the minister of holding communication with the Count de Lille. Report says, that he even collared the statesman. Cambacères deigned not to reply to this unfounded accusation, but persisted in his opposition to the decree, and Napoleon, who after his rage had subsided would sometimes yield to reason, consented to a proposition of the minister, which commanded all emigrants to return within one month, and present themselves

before some civil authority, in which case a free pardon was granted ; but all who neglected or refused to avail themselves of the amnesty were punishable with death. He commanded a list to be made of all who had emigrated, and the most rigorous prosecutions to be commenced against every one who might be discovered holding correspondence with Lewis or his agents.

This account of one meeting of the imperial council will give some tolerable idea of the scenes which now began to occur at the Thuilleries. Distracted with the difficulties and dangers which environed him, the moderation which he at first assumed was afterwards occasionally forgotten, and he indulged in the extravagant language, and the ungovernable bursts of passion, to which he had formerly been accustomed. But his ill-humour, or his insanity, lasted only a moment ; he frankly and earnestly entreated pardon from those whom he had unjustly loaded with abuse, and ere the council closed, he frequently abandoned a project which he had at first violently supported, or adopted a measure the first mention of which had enraged him to madness. Was this the effect of artifice, or were moderate and liberal principles gradually triumphing over his former tyrannical and vicious habits ?

Carnot refers to these scenes in his second memorial. He was censured for not having given in his resignation when Napoleon appeared inclined

to resume his former dictatorial proceedings. He replied that by remaining where he was he could diminish by his counsels the evils which threatened. That he profited by the confidence which the Emperor reposed in him, to turn him from the arbitrary acts to which he was naturally so much inclined, and that he employed as much as he could the influence of his brothers, who announced very liberal ideas. That in the council, on the new plan of the constitution, he made the strongest remonstrances, which were not then listened to, but the justice of which Napoleon soon felt when he saw the effect it produced.

In these councils Davoust and Decrès, the ministers of war and the marine, and who possessed no small portion of the violent character of their master, usually blindly adopted, and zealously advocated every despotic measure which he proposed ; while the ministers of justice, the interior, and the police, Cambacères, Carnot, and Fouché, less submissive, better informed, and more patriotic, adopted them with reserve, and often combatted them with courage and success.

Napoleon now removed from the bustle of the Thuilleries, and retired to the tranquil palace of Elysée Bourbon*. Excepting on days of ceremony he appeared to throw off the gaudy state of Emperor, and often entered and departed from

* Now inhabited (Dec. 1815) by the Duke of Wellington.

Paris on horseback without escort and without suite. The dagger of the assassin might easily have reached him, or a few desperadoes might have ensured his fate. Wherever he appeared crowds of people pressed upon him, and impeded his progress. He regarded them with complacency and without fear. One day a Frenchman † threw himself in the way of the Emperor and exclaimed, "Collect and modify our constitutions, Sire! Let them be made for the people, answerable to the spirit of the times, and worthy of the throne." Napoleon smiled, and pointing to the heavens replied, "When God and opportunity shall permit."

It now became necessary that something should be attempted to excite the public spirit. Confederacies had been formed in several parts of Bretagne, the members of which professed "to consecrate all their means to the propagation of liberal principles;—to support the public spirit during the present crisis, and to oppose all disorders;—to maintain public security in the interior, and to march to all places in the province which might be threatened by foreign or domestic foes. To employ all their influence and credit to keep each other in the line of his duty to his prince and his country;—to bear succour effec-

† M. Regnault de Warin, author of an interesting work entitled "Cinq mois de l'Histoire de France."

tually and promptly at the first requisition of the public authority ;—to defeat all plots against the constitution and the Emperor ;—and to lend one another mutual assistance and protection according to events.” Secret emissaries were sent into the suburbs of Paris, and particularly into those of St. Antoine, and St. Marceau, the inhabitants of which had performed so prominent a part in all the atrocities of the revolution, and had since been distinguished for their devotedness to Napoleon, to induce them to enter into similar confederations, and thus to set a patriotic example to the other cities of the empire.

The scheme succeeded. Fifteen thousand men enrolled themselves and demanded arms. To give the affair greater éclat a day was appointed in which they were to be reviewed in the court of the Tuilleries.

On the 14th of May these “lean and unwashed artificers,” in a thousand different and disgusting garbs, marched into the courts of the palace. When the Emperor appeared in front of the line, an orator deputed from their body addressed him in an harangue of which the following is an extract.

“Sire !

“We received the Bourbons with indifference and apathy because we love not kings imposed upon us by the enemy.—We received you with enthusiasm because you are the man of the nation,

the defender of the country, and because we expect from you a glorious independence and judicious freedom. We come to make a tender of our arms, our courage and our blood for the safety of the capital.

“ The most part of us have combatted under your orders. We are almost all old defenders of our country. Our country may with confidence place arms in the hands of those who have shed their blood in her cause. Give to us, Sire ! arms in her name. We swear, in your presence, to fight only in our country's cause and in yours. We are not the tools of any party, nor the agents of any faction. We desire only to preserve the national honour, and to render the entrance of the enemy into this capital impracticable, in the event of its being threatened with a new insult. Conquerors by our own courage and your genius, we shall resume our toils with joy and alacrity ; and we shall be better able to appreciate the blessings of peace when we shall obtain, as the price of twenty-five years of sacrifices, a constitution, liberty, and the monarch of our choice.

“ Sire ! you will triumph. We rejoice by anticipation at a victory so legitimate, and at the glorious and permanent tranquillity which will be the fruits of it. Yes, Sire ! we have an assurance that when our enemies shall announce the chimerical hope of prescribing laws to us, you will love peace as you love glory. We shall be indebted

to you for liberty and happiness ; and all France now ready to fight if necessary, will love you as a good king, after admiring you as the greatest of warriors."

The Emperor listened to them with the greatest courtesy, and thus replied.

"Soldiers and Federates ! I returned to France alone because I reckoned on the affection of the peasants through the whole of France, and the artisans of the principal cities. My expectations have not been deceived.

"Confederated soldiers ! I see you around me with pleasure. You have robust arms and brave hearts. I accept your offers. I will give you arms. You shall form the light troops of the Parisian national guard, to which in conjunction with you I commit the defence of my capital.

Tranquil as to the result of the contest, I shall proceed to the frontiers to manœuvre the army, and to defend our territory if the kings shall dare to attack it. The honour of the French, the rights of the people, and my throne, are under your keeping, and under that of the people of the country and the villages. We will cause the national sovereignty and independence to be respected."

When he concluded, the air was rent with acclamations, and the federates dispersed proud of the honour which they had received, and burning to prove their zeal in the Emperor's cause.

This scene had not the effect which Napoleon

wished. It was a burlesque on the confederations of the provinces ; and the rational friends of liberty omened ill when her cause was committed to such defenders. It was this very mob, or of the same description and from the same quarter, which on the 20th of June, and the 10th of August, had attacked this very palace, had attempted to murder the unfortunate Lewis, and had caused the streets of Paris to flow with human blood. The throne of Napoleon must be tottering to its very foundation, if it could only be supported by stirring up the dregs of the people, and at the hazard of all the mischief which the effervescence of the passions of the same mob had produced twenty years before.

The soldiers blushed for their chief, and did not hesitate loudly to express their astonishment and indignation. "Behold," said some of them, "the masters of our master ! What disgraceful humiliation ! Where is the great Napoleon ? We no longer recognize the conqueror of Europe—the Emperor whose court was composed of the kings of Spain and Naples, of Saxony and Bavaria, of Wurtemberg and Westphalia. We see only the Emperor of the *canaille*."

CHAPTER X.

The Champ de Mai.—Character of the Chambers.—

Opening of the Sessions.—Strange Circumstance

which then occurred.—Address of the Deputies.—

Reply of Napoleon.

THE deputations from the electoral colleges arrived very slowly, and the lists of votes from several departments had not yet been received; but the impatience of the public displaying itself in open murmurs, and Napoleon being anxious to depart for the army, the assembly of the Champ de Mai was appointed to be held on the first of June.

A throne was erected for the Emperor in the Champ de Mars in front of the Military School. Opposite the throne was a vast semicircular area or rotunda with seats for fifteen or eighteen thousand electors. An altar was raised in the middle; and beyond it at a distance of two hundred yards was another throne in the open air, which commanded the whole Champ de Mars. Eighty-seven banners decorated the rotunda, bearing the names of the eighty-seven departments. The national colours mingled with these banners, and every

vacant space was occupied by the imperial eagles surrounded with garlands of flowers emblematic of peace.

On the preceding evening a deputation of the colleges met to collect and cast up the votes. Eleven departments and several regiments had had not made any returns. The general result of the votes received, gave one million two hundred and eighty-eight thousand three hundred and fifty-seven for the Additional Act, and four thousand two hundred and seven against it. One-fourth of the negative votes proceeded from the department of the Cotes du Nord.

The number of voters in the whole of France are supposed to amount to three millions. It is plain therefore that after making due allowance for the registers of the eleven departments which had not been received, more than half of the citizens had not exercised their privilege. The scrutiny therefore was not so expressive of the national opinion as the overwhelming majority of the votes in favour of the constitution would at first incline us to imagine.

It would be unjust to infer that all who refused to vote were unfriendly to the act, though doubtless many of them were. The majority were unwilling to commit themselves in the present state of affairs. A dreadful contest would soon commence. The issue was uncertain. A vote registered either in the negative or affirmative might be productive of

present or future inconvenience. They therefore pursued the most prudent if not the most patriotic course, and reserved the declaration of their sentiments until it appeared which was the stronger party,

The registry however of one million three hundred thousand votes shewed that the Additional Act was not unacceptable to the French people. It actually received the approbation of nearly half the electors, to whom numerous secret friends were doubtless to be added. If when the enemy pressed on the frontiers, the coalesced sovereigns had sworn to reinstate the Bourbons on the throne, and the adherents of Napoleon were threatened with pillage and death, one million three hundred thousand persons were found sufficiently attached to him to register their votes in his favour, he had reason to be satisfied with the result*.

* “ It was impossible to separate the nation from the usurper. He was not replaced on the throne merely surrounded by bayonets, and inspiring terror, but he had instituted a government, assembled the chambers, and introduced forms which it was impossible to introduce, if the will of a very great part of the people had not directly or indirectly concurred.

Whatever the opposite party may say, what he did in the three months of his usurpation was not merely the effect of force. It cannot be even said that he committed many acts of rigour. He opposed to the allies not merely a handful of partisans of his cause, but an army of nearly two hundred thousand men, taken from the whole surface of France; this army fought with courage and perseverance; and there are scarcely any Frenchmen who

On the following day the Champ de Mai was held. The Emperor left the Thuilleries amid the firing of artillery, escorted by a numerous body of cavalry, and attended by universal acclamations. When he appeared from the apartments of the Military School he was saluted by prolonged shouts from the multitude which occupied the vast enclosure of the Champ de Mars. The electors sat under the rotunda. The grand national authorities occupied some tribunes in front of the rotunda. The officers of the crown were behind the Emperor, his ministers surrounded him, and the generals were on either side. Three hundred thousand spectators occupied the other parts of the field or surrounded the enclosure. Mass was first celebrated by the Archbishop of Tours. The members of the central deputation of the electoral colleges then advanced to the foot of the throne. They were about five hundred, and were presented to Napoleon by the Arch-chancellor.

One of them then addressed to the Emperor an oration of which the following is the substance.

SIRE !

The French people have decreed you the crown. You resigned it without their consent. Their suf-

doubt, that if the battle of the 18th had been favourable to him, he would have been able to have drawn peaceably new reinforcements to his army, prolonged the war, made, if the allies would have suffered it, a peace, and reigned as he did before 1813."

The Prussian Minister's Confidential Memoir.

frages have just imposed upon you the duty of resuming it.

What does the confederacy of the allied kings require? By what act have we afforded a pretext for their aggression?

They dare to proscribe you personally,—you who have so often been master of their capitals, and have generously confirmed them on their tottering thrones. But this hatred on the part of your enemies only adds to our love for you. If they proscribed the least known of our citizens, it would be our duty to defend him with the same energy; he would, like you, be under the ægis of the law, and of the power of France.

Do they ask guarantees? They are in all our institutions. Do they dread to recall other times? Let them beware how they reproduce them. It would not be the first time that we have conquered all Europe in arms against us.

Expect from us, Sire! all that an heroic leader has a right to expect from a nation faithful, energetic, generous, unshaken in its principles, invariable in the objects of its efforts—independence of foreign powers, and liberty at home.

Sire! nothing is impossible for us—nothing shall be omitted to secure our honour and independence, treasures dearer to us than life. We say to the nations—may their chiefs attend to us!—If they accept your offers of peace, the French people will expect from your strong, liberal, and

paternal administration, the means of consolation for the sacrifices that peace has cost ; but if they leave us only the choice between war and disgrace, the entire nation will rise up for war. It is ready to disengage you from the offers, perhaps too moderate, which you have made to spare Europe a new convulsion ? Every Frenchman is a soldier. Victory will follow our eagles, and our enemies who reckoned on divisions among us, will soon regret having provoked us."

The energy of the speaker communicated itself to the whole assembly, and the field resounded with the shouts of " The Nation for ever ! The Emperor for ever !"

The Arch-chancellor now pronounced the result of the votes, by which it appeared that the Additional Act was almost unanimously accepted.

The herald-at-arms then proclaimed, " In the name of the Emperor, I declare that the Additional Act to the Constitutions of the empire has been accepted by the French people !

Fresh acclamations were heard on every side.

A table was then brought in front of the throne, on which was placed the Additional Act, and the Emperor sanctioned it with his signature.

The table being withdrawn, Napoleon again seated himself on the throne, and uncovering himself for a moment spoke as follows:

" Gentlemen, electors of colleges, of departments, and arrondissements !—

Gentlemen, deputies from the army and navy to the Champ de Mai!—

Emperor, consul, soldier! I hold every thing from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the rule and constant object of my thoughts and actions.

Like the King of Athens I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of witnessing the realization of the promise given to guarantee to France her national integrity, her honours, and her rights.

Indignation on beholding those sacred rights, acquired by twenty-five years of victory, slighted and lost for ever; the cry of insulted French honour, and the wishes of the nation, have brought me back to that throne which is dear to me, because it is the *palladium* of the independence, of the honour, and the rights of the people.

Frenchmen! in my progress amidst the public joy, through the different provinces of the empire to my capital, I had every reason to reckon upon a long peace. Nations are bound by the treaties concluded by their governments, whatever they may be.

My thoughts were then wholly engaged with the means of founding our liberty on a constitution conformable to the wishes and the interests of the people. I convoked the *Champ de Mai*.

I was soon apprised that the princes who have

violated all principles, who have shocked the public opinion, and the dearest interests of so many nations, design to make war upon us. They meditate the increase of the kingdom of the Netherlands; they would give it for barriers all our northern frontier fortresses, and would make up the quarrels which still divide them, by sharing among themselves Lorraine and Alsace.

It was necessary to prepare for war.

However, before personally exposing myself to the risks of battles, my first care was to give without delay a constitution to the nation. The people has accepted the act which I presented to it.

Frenchmen! when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and the independence of twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen, a solemn law, enacted according to the forms prescribed by the constitutional act, shall combine the different provisions of our constitutions that are now scattered.

Frenchmen! you are about to return into your departments. Tell the citizens that circumstances are momentous!!!—that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall come off victorious from this struggle of a great people against its oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct; and that a nation has lost all, when it has lost its independence. Tell them, that the foreign kings whom I either raised to the throne, or who are indebted to me for the preservation of

their crowns ; who all in the time of my prosperity, courted my alliance and the protection of the French people, are now aiming their blows at my person. If I did not see that it is against the country that they are really directed, I would place at their mercy this life against which they manifest such animosity. But tell the citizens also, that while the French shall retain for me the sentiments of love of which they give me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will be impotent.

Frenchmen ! my will is that of the people ; my rights are their rights ; my honour, my glory, my happiness can never be distinct from the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France."

This harangue, which had it proceeded from the heart would have immortalized the speaker, produced all the effect which it was intended and calculated to have. Shouts of the wildest enthusiasm rent the air, and it was long ere order could be restored, and the ceremony proceed.

The Grand Almoner then approached the throne and kneeling presented the New Testament to the Emperor, who took the oath in the following terms. " I swear to observe the Constitutions of the empire, and to cause them to be observed."

The Arch-Chancellor then advanced to the throne, and pronounced the oath of obedience to the Constitutions, and fidelity to the Emperor. The whole assembly repeated with one voice, " We swear it." Te Deum was now sung, and

this union of devotion and patriotism; the blended harmony of three hundred thousand voices, each of which expressed the deepest emotion, produced an effect truly sublime.

Napoleon then laid aside the imperial mantle, and rising from the throne advanced to the first steps. The drums beat, and the Emperor thus spoke.

“Soldiers of the national guard of the empire! Soldiers of the land and sea forces! I confide to you the imperial eagle with the national colours. Swear to defend it at the expense of your blood against the enemies of the country, and of this throne. Swear that it shall always be your rallying signal.”

Prolonged and universal cries of “We swear it,” resounded through the enclosure. In the midst of these acclamations, and surrounded by the eagles of all the armed corps of France, the Emperor proceeded to the other throne in the middle of the Champ de Mars. The troops marched in battalions and squadrons, and surrounded the throne. Napoleon, as Colonel of the national and imperial guard, presented to each its eagle, and thus addressed them.

“Soldiers of the national guards of Paris! Soldiers of the imperial guards! I confide to you the national eagles, and the national colours. You swear to perish, if it should be necessary, in defending them against the enemies of the country and

the throne." The whole army drawn up in close order around him distinctly heard every word, and interrupted him with repeated cries of "We swear it?"

The drum beat and silence was restored.

"You swear," continued the Emperor, "never to acknowledge any other rallying sign." Again the cries of "We swear it," resounded on every side. "You soldiers of the national guard of Paris swear never to suffer foreigners again to pollute the capital of the great nation!" Again the most enthusiastic shouts of "We swear it," proceeded from every rank, and were prolonged by the innumerable multitude which surrounded the enclosure.

The drum once more rolled, and it was long ere order could be restored. "And you soldiers of the imperial guards! swear to surpass yourselves in the campaign about to open, and to die rather than suffer foreigners to dictate laws from the country." It was impossible to proceed. The acclamations of "We swear it," were repeated a thousand and a thousand times by every voice. In vain the drum again beat. Its sound was drowned by the delirious shouts of the multitude. In vain he waved his hand as if he would continue his harangue. Nothing could repress the violent and overwhelming expression of their emotions.

The troops were then ordered to defile before him, and during two hours, which were occupied

in the long procession of the numerous battalions, the uproar was incessant.

This spectacle of a whole nation pronouncing its will on the establishment of the new government of its choice, and the assembled citizens swearing to their Prince and to each other, to die in defence of their independence and liberty, was grand and imposing. Thousands who attended at the beginning of the ceremony indifferent to its objects, or disposed to scoff at the empty and hypocritical show, soon caught the enthusiasm which prevailed around. The glow of patriotism circulated from breast to breast, and ere the conclusion of the day, the acclamations were universal, ardent, and sincere. But when the scene was closed, and reflection succeeded to the delirium of passion, many apprehensions and doubts began to mingle with, and alloy, and dissipate their resolutions and their hopes. Was Napoleon sincere? "Could the Ethiopian change his skin, and the leopard his spots?" Could the enthusiasm of the French be relied on; an enthusiasm which had a thousand times changed its object, and whenever that object had been good, had uniformly deceived every sanguine expectation? Was this the expression of the national opinion and will, or merely of the devoted attachment of the army, the hired applause of the mob, and the momentary feeling of those who could not resist the touching effect of the well arranged

and artful spectacle? Had they the means to resist the countless battalions of foreigners, who from every quarter of Europe were crowding towards their frontiers, and threatening to deluge their country with blood? By this explosion of popular feeling were they not more enraging those who ardently panted for revenge, and adding to the long list of victims who were already marked for destruction?

Could the enthusiasm of the spectators of the Champ de Mai have been relied on, or did it express the unshaken attachment and devotion of the French, the cause of Napoleon and of liberty was secure. But they, whose fond expectations had been so often blasted, while they yielded to the enthusiasm of the moment, could not repress many melancholy and painful forebodings.

Previous to the meeting of the Champ de Mai, some bold and ardent friends of liberty and their country had waited on Napoleon, and represented to him that it was in his power to make the ceremonies of the day a lasting blessing to France, and the foundation of his own truest and immortal honour. The allies had declared that they made war on him alone. Their innumerable troops were closely pressing on the frontiers, and the most sanguine mind could not anticipate a favourable issue. Should he, before the assembled nation, voluntarily abdicate the power

which he had so recently regained, should he offer himself a willing sacrifice to effect the salvation of his country, he would retire into private life, or retire from France, followed by the blessings of the people ; his memory would ever live endeared to their hearts, and his name would stand enrolled in the brightest pages of history.

This was strongly urged, but urged in vain. He replied that he was willing and eager to make every sacrifice for the welfare of France, but that this was impossible. That his army would be indignant at the mention of such apparent humiliation, and that his abdication would be the signal for tumult, revolt, and civil war. That the allies had deeper and more dangerous projects in view. That they wished not so much to dethrone him, as to disgrace and dismember France. That his resignation would not for a moment arrest their progress, while it would deprive the army of their chosen leader, would weaken the means of defence, and expose the country to accumulated evils. The historian does not inquire into the justice of these arguments, or the sincerity with which they were pleaded. He does not inquire whether Napoleon was capable of an act so disinterested and noble. The ceremony proceeded and the short-lived power of the Emperor apparently received the sanction of the public voice.

On the following day the chamber of repre-

sentatives commenced its sittings. It has been calumniated as having been composed of factious and worthless characters, the very dregs of the revolution, and the mere creatures of Buonaparte. The history of the proceedings of the chamber will form the best reply to this accusation, and it is well known that, previous to the opening of the session, Napoleon frequently expressed great displeasure at the prevailing character of the deputies. They were far too opulent, respectable, and independent to serve his purpose. Among them were the respectable names of Rouchfoucauld, Liancourt, D'Argenson, and De la Tour-Maubourg, the opulent bankers Lafitte and Lefect; the ornaments of the French bar, Roy, Tripier, and Dupin; many peers of the king's own creation; many members of the late house; all the most upright and popular characters of the preceding chambers, as Flaugergues, Dumolard, Lanjuinais the defender of the king and of justice at the bar of the national convention, Constant who when Buonaparte was almost at the gates of Paris boldly and eloquently pleaded the cause of the legitimate monarch and unmasked the perfidy and ambition of the invader, and La Fayette who, after having rejected in his political career every thing that is calculated to tempt human ambition, after having lingered five years in the dungeons of the coalition for having defended the constitutional throne on the 10th of August,

and for not consenting to betray his principles and his country by basely complying with the views of the coalesced powers and the party of Coblenz, after having stood up for fifteen years against the colossal power of Buonaparte while every court on the continent was yielding to his influence and courting his alliance, was now impelled by the dangers of his country and the voice of the people again to quit his retirement and advocate the cause of national independence *. To consider such an assembly as a club of Buonapartists were absurd, and to affect to regard them with contempt, would betray equal ignorance and illiberality.

It cannot however be denied, that the undue influence of Buonaparte at the electoral colleges had procured the return of many of his creatures, and that this assembly, otherwise so respectable, was disgraced by the presence of some of the

* La Fayette was earnestly solicited to accept the dignity of the peerage. His name was inscribed first on the list by the Emperor's own hand; and the brothers of Napoleon condescended repeatedly to entreat him to oblige them and the Emperor, by resuming the title which he possessed before the revolution. But he was inflexible. He would accept nothing from the hands of Buonaparte, since it would imply an obligation to espouse his cause, the purity of whose intentions he doubted; but he cheerfully complied with the wishes of his countrymen, who elected him a member of the house of representatives for his own department, because under that character he could fearlessly devote himself to the welfare of France.

most violent and infamous characters of the revolution.

The peers were nominated by Napoleon or his council, and, as might naturally be expected, possessed neither the talents, respectability, nor independence of the other chamber. The names of Carnot, Gregoire, Chaptal, Monge, Roger Ducos, Lacepede, and Lameth, were insufficient to compensate for the infamy attached to the characters of Ney, Labedoyère, Caulincourt and Lefebvre Desnouettes.

The public looked with the utmost anxiety to the early proceedings of the chambers as indicative of their character and views. The first business of the representatives was to elect a president. The choice fell on Lanjuinais, who had been a member of the old convention, and who, in the preceding year, had been peculiarly active in drawing up the list of crimes committed by Buonaparte, and which was officially published as the justification of his dethronement*. The virtuous

* Lanjuinais was well known for his unshaken attachment to rational and constitutional liberty, and for his uniform opposition to every despotic act of Buonaparte. An expression of his, uttered many years before, had shewn the sentiments which he entertained of Napoleon, and exposed him to the unrelenting fury of the tyrant; "What!" said he, in the debate on the proposition of conferring on Buonaparte the title of Emperor, "are you so degraded as to give your country a master taken from a race of men so ignominious that the Romans disdained to use them even as slaves?"

La Fayette had the greatest number of votes next to him. This was sufficiently explanatory of the predominant spirit.

It was expected that this choice would have been

Lanjuinais was before the revolution an advocate and professor of canon-law. He was a deputy of the *tiers-etat* to the states-general, and one of the founders of the jacobin club, though never disgraced by the atrocities of that execrable society. In August, 1789, he shewed that though he was an ardent friend to liberty, he was not disposed to league himself with the disciples of anarchy, for he warmly opposed the sequestration of the property of the clergy, yet he was the person who proposed the abolition of all titles, and objected to that of Prince being still conferred on the members of the reigning family. When the reign of terror commenced, he closely allied himself with the moderate party. On the 15th of December, 1792, he spoke in favour of Louis XVI, and demanded that counsel and the means of defence should be granted to him. On the 26th of the same month he again appeared as the advocate of that unfortunate monarch. He exposed the injustice and atrocity of a trial in which the enemies of Lewis were at once accusers, witnesses, jurymen, and judges; nor would he move from the tribune, although he was assailed with the most furious outcries, and his voice repeatedly drowned by the most diabolical outcries, and threats of revenge. On the nominal appeal, he declared that Lewis XVI was guilty, and voted that he should be imprisoned until a peace and then banished.

He now distinguished himself by his fearless opposition to all the deeds of injustice and blood which disgraced this period of the revolution. On one occasion, he kept possession of the tribune, though several of the demoniacs of the Mountain party attempted to drag him thence with violence. They yelled in his ears that he was suspected, and called on him to resign. "I have, I believe," said he, "hitherto shewn some courage, some energy; expect then from me neither resignation nor suspension."

regarded by Napoleon as a personal insult against himself, and that he would have refused to ratify it. Some unnecessary delay did take place, and it is reported that Napoleon was half disposed to

Know that a victim which, adorned with flowers, is dragged to the altar, is not insulted by the sacrificing priest. You talk of sacrificing my power? What an abuse of words! Sacrifices ought to be free, and you are not so." He was condemned to imprisonment at this very meeting, but eluding the vigilance of the *gend'arme* who guarded him, he escaped the fate in which all his colleagues were soon involved. He was now out-lawed, and remained a fugitive and proscribed until 1795, when he was recalled to the legislative assembly. In June, 1795, he was appointed president of the assembly, and continued to display equal love to his country, and determination to avoid the extremes of anarchy and despotism. He opposed every law against the relations of emigrants, and every decree which seemed unnecessarily severe. In 1800, he became one of the conservative senate, and strenuously opposed the arbitrary measures of Buonaparte. In 1802, before Buonaparte was made first consul for life, a project was entertained by his partisans to raise him to the imperial dignity at once. Rœderer made a speech to sound the conservative senate on the point. Lanjuinais replied to him, and exclaimed that "Whoever he was that would take upon himself the title of Emperor, he would consider him as an enemy to his country and a usurper." Marshal Kellerman immediately drew his sword, and asked, "whom he meant to stigmatize as an usurper?" adding, "that if he meant the First Consul, he would run him through the body!" The senate interposed, but Lanjuinais was resolute, and persisted in his declaration without naming any person. His firmness and eloquence produced so much effect on the senate that it was deemed prudent to drop the plan for the present. When Buonaparte was made Emperor, Lanjuinais violently opposed it, and uttered the strong expression which I

resent the insult, but it was not yet his policy to break with the chambers, and the note informing him of the nomination was returned with the laconic addition of "I approve."

have quoted above. On this account he incurred the lasting hatred of Napoleon.

When the allies entered Paris in 1814, he drew up the celebrated *proces-verbal*, which pronounced the dethronement of Buonaparte and the causes of it. The paper is curious as an historical document, and as contrasted with some of the speeches of Lanjuinais to the Emperor on the resumption of his power. There will, however, appear no disgraceful inconsistency in the conduct of Lanjuinais, no servile adulation; he is still the rational, enlightened, and determined friend of the liberties and welfare of his country.

"The conservative senate, considering that in a constitutional monarchy, the monarch exists only in virtue of the constitution or social compact;

That Napoleon Buonaparte, during a certain period of firm and prudent government, afforded to the nation reasons to calculate for the future on acts of wisdom and justice; but that afterwards he violated the compact which united him to the French people, particularly in levying imposts and establishing taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law, and against the express tenor of the oath which he had taken on his ascending the throne, conformable to article fifty-three of the act of the constitution of the 28th Floreal, year 12;

That he committed an attack on the rights of his people, by adjourning, without necessity, the legislative body, and causing to be suppressed, as criminal, a report of that body, the title of which, and its share in the national representation, he disputed;

That he undertook a series of wars in violation of article fifty, of the act of the constitutions of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, which

During their first sitting, some misunderstanding arose respecting a message from the Emperor delivered by the provisional president. They at once shewed that they were determined to submit

purports that declarations of war should be proposed, debated, decreed, and promulgated in the same manner as laws ;

That he issued, unconstitutionally, several decrees inflicting the punishment of death ; particularly the two decrees of the 5th of March last, tending to cause to be considered as national, a war which would not have taken place but for the interests of his boundless ambition ;

That he violated the constitutional laws by his decrees respecting the prisoners of state ;

That he annulled the responsibility of the ministers, confounded all authorities, and destroyed the independence of judicial bodies.

Considering that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subjected to the arbitrary control of his police, and, that at the same time, he has made use of the press to fill France and Europe with misrepresentations, false maxims, doctrines favourable to despotism, and insults on foreign governments ;

That acts and reports decreed by the senate have undergone alteration in the publication.

Considering that, instead of reigning according to the terms of his oath, with a sole view to the interest, the happiness, and glory of the French people, Napoleon completed the misfortunes of his country by his refusal to treat on conditions which the national interest required him to accept, and which did not compromise the French honour ;

By the abuse which he made of all the means intrusted to him in men and money ;

By the abandonment of the wounded without dressings, without assistance, without subsistence ;

to no dictator, and if Napoleon looked to them as the willing or deluded instruments of re-establishing his despotic power, he would be much deceived: but at the same time they evinced their determination to rally round him, and defend their country from the dictation of foreign powers. The leading persons of the constitutional and republican party had seen in Napoleon a fit instrument to accomplish the revolution which they thought indispensable: and they did not now forget that his talents and ambition might sooner or later succeed in changing the character of that revolution, and re-establishing his former despotism. This apprehension gave the chambers a sternness of manner, an impatience of control, and a petulant suspicion, which the deference due to the head of the

By various measures, the consequence of which were the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine, and contagious diseases:

Considering that for all these causes, the imperial government established by the *senatus consultum* of the 28th Floreal, year 12, has ceased to exist, and that the wish manifested by all Frenchmen calls for an order of things, the first result of which should be the restoration of general peace, and which should be also the æra of the solemn reconciliation of all the states of the great European family—

The senate declares and decrees as follows:—

Article 1. Napoleon Buonaparte has forfeited his throne, and the hereditary right established in his family is abolished.

Article 2. The French people and the army are released from their oath of fidelity towards Napoleon Buonaparte.”

state, and the gratitude which the late conduct of Napoleon had inspired, scarcely repressed. This likewise explains the tumultuous proceedings, the vehement language, and the almost unconstitutional measures that characterized the first sittings of the chambers.

It was expected that on the following day the sessions would have been regularly opened by a speech from the throne, and a singular occurrence then took place, which has never been satisfactorily explained. In France the monarch goes to the hall of the representatives and there requires the presence of the peers. A Saxon gentleman of distinction, named Sahla, gained admittance to the hall. After remaining there a few minutes he ascertained that the Emperor would not open the sessions until the next day. He immediately quitted the place, and as he turned into a neighbouring street accidentally slipped and fell. A quantity of fulminating silver exploded in his pocket, and mutilated him in a dreadful manner.

He was taken before the police. The account which he gave was improbable and contradictory, and it was recollected that five years before he had been apprehended for a daring attempt on the life of the Emperor. For this he had been confined in the castle of Vincennes, until the entry of the allies into Paris. He was so steadfast in the species of fanaticism which had taken possession of his mind, that, a considerable time after his arrest,

when the government, wishing to give him his liberty, had him interrogated in order to discover whether he persisted in his intention, and whether he could be permitted to be at large without any danger to Napoleon, he ingenuously avowed that he had by no means renounced his design. He left his prison only on the arrival of the Bourbons.

In a succeeding examination he said “ that he had long been an enthusiast from a well-directed or mistaken love of his country. That while the French government appeared to be the cause of the oppression of Germany, he shewed himself its unrelenting enemy, and attempted the life of Napoleon. But that since Saxony had passed under the yoke of the Congress of Vienna, his rage had turned against the authors of this new degradation. That he fled from his country with the professed intention of seeking assistance from abroad. That he arrived in Paris provided with recipes and inventions of destruction, which he wished to get adopted in France as even more murderous than the usual implements of warfare. By means of fulminating silver he supposed that he had discovered the secret of making rockets much more formidable than those of Congreve. He offered this secret to the war minister, and left in the office one of his boxes of fulminating silver, which he wished should be subjected to experiment, and he always carried in his pocket a considerable quantity of this dangerous substance.”

This account was deemed unsatisfactory. The horrible project which he had formerly conceived and almost executed against Buonaparte, and his quitting the hall as soon as he was informed that the Emperor would not be present until the next day, threw considerable suspicion on his intentions, and he was detained.

The termination of the affair rendered the whole yet more mysterious. A few days before the entrance of the allied troops into Paris he was liberated, and on the following morning he threw himself from the parapet of the bridge of Lewis XVI, into the Seine. Immediate assistance was procured, but the vital spark was extinct.

On the 7th of June, the Emperor proceeded in state to the hall of the Representatives, and opened the session with the following speech :—

“Messieurs of the Chamber of Peers, and Messieurs of the Chamber of Representatives.

For three months past, circumstances and the confidence of the people have invested me with unlimited power. At this moment the most anxious wish of my heart is accomplished. I have commenced a constitutional monarchy.

Men are too feeble to secure the future; legal institutions alone fix the destinies of nations. Monarchy is necessary to France, to guarantee the liberty, the independence, and the rights of the people.

Our constitutions are scattered; one of our most

important occupations will be to consolidate them into one body, and arrange them in one simple system. This labour will recommend the present epoch to the gratitude of future generations.

I am anxious that France should enjoy all possible liberty ; I say possible, because anarchy always resolves itself into absolute government.

A formidable coalition of kings threatens our independence ; their armies are approaching our frontiers.

The Melpomene frigate has been attacked and taken in the Mediterranean, after a sanguinary action with an English vessel of 74 guns. Blood has been shed in the time of peace.

Our enemies rely upon our internal divisions. They excite and foment civil war. Risings have taken place. Communications are held with Ghent, as with Coblenz in 1792. Legislative measures are indispensable. I place unreserved confidence in your patriotism, your wisdom, and your attachment to my person.

The liberty of the press is inherent in the existing constitution. No change can be made in that respect without altering the whole of our political system ; but some restrictions are necessary, more especially in the actual state of the nation. I recommend this important subject to your serious consideration.

My ministers will acquaint you with the situation of our affairs.

The finances would be in a satisfactory state but for the increased expenditure rendered requisite by existing circumstances.

Nevertheless, all might be met, if the receipts comprised in the budget could all be realized within the year ; my minister will direct your attention to the means of arriving at this result.

It is possible that the first duty of a prince may soon call me at the head of the children of the nation to combat for the country. The army and myself will do our duty.

Do you, peers and representatives ! give the nation the example of confidence, energy, and patriotism ; and, like the senate of the great people of antiquity, resolve to die rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France. The sacred cause of the country shall triumph ! ! !”

Four days elapsed ere the representatives, after many tumultuous debates, could agree on the form of an address in reply to this speech. They wished to express their determination to support him in repelling the invasion of the coalesced monarchs, and their equal determination to resist the encroachments of despotic power.

“The chief basis of the monarchy,” said they, “the protectress of liberty, equality, and the happiness of the people, has been recognized by your Majesty, who rising above all scruples, as anticipating all wishes, have declared that the care of collecting our scattered constitutions, and of arranging them, was

one of the most important occupations reserved for the legislature. Faithful to its mission, it will perform the task thus devolved upon it. It requests that, to satisfy the public wish, as well as the wishes of your Majesty, national deliberation should rectify, as speedily as possible, any thing defective or imperfect that the urgency of our situation may have produced, or left to exist in our constitutions, considered as a whole."

After expressing their resolution to defend their country from the invasion of foreigners, they proceed, "To attack the monarch of its choice is to attack the independence of the nation. It is armed as one man to defend that independence, and to repel without exception, every family and every prince whom men shall dare to wish to impose upon it. No ambitious project enters the thoughts of the French people. *The will even of a victorious prince would be insufficient to draw on the nation, beyond the limits of its own defence ;* but to guard its territory, to maintain its liberty, its honour, its dignity, it is ready for any sacrifice."

These sentiments gave great offence to Napoleon, and he could not refrain from reading them one of the lectures to which the former assemblies were accustomed to listen with astonishment and stifled indignation.

"The constitution," said he, "is our rallying point. It must be our pole-star, in these stormy moments. All public discussion tending to di-

minish directly, or indirectly, the confidence which should be placed in its enactments will be a misfortune to the state. We should then find ourselves at sea without a compass and without a rudder. The crisis in which we are placed is great. Let us not imitate the conduct of the Lower Empire, which, pressed on all sides by barbarians made itself the laughing stock of posterity, by occupying itself with abstract discussions at the moment when the battering-ram was shaking the gates of the city."

Then, as if he feared that the chamber might take advantage of his absence to abridge his prerogative, or render itself more formidable, he hints at the conclusion of his speech, that the amelioration of the constitution should be reserved for future consideration. "Assist me to save our country. First representative of the people, I have contracted the engagement which I renew, of employing in more tranquil times, all the prerogatives of the crown, and the little experience I have acquired, in seconding you in the ameliorations of our constitutions."

Though the usual acclamations followed the conclusion of this harangue, yet some low and indistinct murmurs had been heard during its progress, and the Emperor and the chamber separated mutually displeased with and suspicious of each other. The leading and patriotic members now first formed the resolution to seize the first

opportunity of throwing off the yoke which they suspected was preparing to be imposed upon them ; and the members of Napoleon's family, with some of the most devoted of the courtiers, hinted to him the necessity of availing himself of the first specious pretext to use the prerogative with which he was invested, and dissolve an assembly which threatened to be so unmanageable. This advice coincided with his natural propensities, but he had not yet discarded the resolution to respect his oath and the liberties of his people.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

ACT ADDITIONAL TO THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPIRE.

Napoleon, by the grace of God and the Constitutions,
Emperor of the French, to all present and to come,
greeting.

SINCE we were called, fifteen years ago, to the government of the state by the wishes of France, we endeavoured at various times to improve the constitutional forms, according to the wants and desires of the nation, and profiting by the lessons of experience. The constitutions of the empire were thus formed of a series of acts which were sanctioned by the acceptance of the people. It was then our objects to organize a grand federative European system, which we had adopted as conformable to the spirit of the age, and favourable to the progress of civilization. In order to attain its completion, and to give it all the extent and stability of which it was susceptible, we postponed the establishment of many internal institutions more particularly destined to protect the liberty of the citizens. Henceforward our only object is to increase the prosperity of France,

by the confirmation of public liberty. From this results the necessity of various important modifications of the constitutions, the *senatus consulta*, and other acts which govern this empire. For these causes, wishing, on the one hand, to retain of the past what was good and salutary, and on the other, to render the constitutions of our empire in every thing conformable to the national wishes and wants, as well as to the state of peace which we desire to maintain with Europe, we have resolved to propose to the people a series of arrangements tending to modify and improve its constitutional acts, to strengthen the rights of citizens by every guarantee, to give the representative system its whole extension, to invest the intermediate bodies with the desirable respectability and power,—in one word, to combine the highest degree of political liberty and individual security, with the force and centralization necessary for causing the independence of the French people to be respected by foreigners, and necessary to the dignity of our crown. In consequence, the following articles, forming an act supplementary to the constitutions of the empire, shall be submitted to the free and solemn acceptance of all citizens throughout the whole extent of France.

TITLE I.

Art. 1. The constitutions of the empire, particularly the constitutional act of the 22d Frimaire, year 8 ; the *senatus consulta* of the 14 and 16 Thermider, year 10 ; and of the 28 Floreal, year 12, shall be modified by the arrangements which follow. All other arrangements are confirmed and maintained.

2. The legislative power is exercised by the Emperor and two chambers.

3. The first chamber, called the chamber of peers, is hereditary.

4. The Emperor appoints its members, who are irrevoc-

cable, they and their male descendants, from one eldest son to another. The number of peers is unlimited. Adoption does not transmit to him who is its object, the dignity of the peerage. Peers take their seats at twenty-one years of age, but have no deliberate voice till twenty-five.

5. The arch-chancellor of the empire is president of the chamber of peers, or in certain cases, a member of the chamber specially designated by the Emperor.

6. The members of the Imperial family, in hereditary order, are peers of right. They take their seats at eighteen years of age, but have no deliberate voice till twenty-one.

7. The second chamber, called that of representatives, is elected by the people.

8. Its members are six hundred and twenty-nine in number. They must be twenty-five years old at least.

9. Their president is appointed by the chamber, at the opening of the first session. He retains his function till the renewal of the chamber. His nomination is submitted to the approbation of the Emperor.

10. This chamber verifies the powers of its members, and pronounces on the validity of contested elections.

11. Its members receive for travelling expenses, and during the session, the pay decreed by the constituent assembly.

12. They are indefinitely re-eligible.

13. The chamber of representatives is wholly renewed every five years.

14. No member of either chamber can be arrested, except for some capital crime; nor prosecuted in any criminal or correctional matter during a session, but in virtue of a resolution of the chamber of which he forms a part.

15. None can be arrested or detained for debt, from the date or convocation of the session, or for forty days afterwards.

16. In criminal or correctional matters, peers are judged by their chamber, according to prescribed forms.

17. The office of peer and representative is compatible with all other public functions, except those of matters of account (comptables); prefects and sub-prefects, are, however, ineligible.

18. The Emperor sends to the chambers ministers and counsellors of state, who sit there to take part in the debates, but have no deliberative voice unless they are peers or elected by the people.

19. Thus ministers, the members of either chamber, or sitting there by mission from government, give to the chambers such information as is deemed necessary, when its publicity does not compromise the interest of the state.

20. The sittings of the two chambers are public. They may, however, go into secret committee, the peers on the demand of ten, and the representatives on the demand of twenty-five members. Government may also require secret committees when it has communications to make. In all other cases deliberation and vote can only be in public sitting.

21. The Emperor may prorogue, adjourn, and dissolve the chamber of representatives. The proclamation which pronounces the dissolution convokes the electoral colleges for a new election; and fixes the meeting of representatives within six months at the furthest.

22. During the recess of sessions of the chamber of representatives, or in case of its dissolution the chamber of peers cannot meet.

23. Government has the proposal of laws; the chambers can propose amendments; if these amendments are not adopted by government, the chambers are bound to vote on the law such as it was proposed.

24. The chambers have the power of inviting government

to propose a law on a determinate object, and to draw up what it appears to them proper to insert in the law. This claim may be made by either chamber.

25. When a bill is adopted in either chamber, it is carried to the other; and if there approved, it is carried to the Emperor.

26. No written discourse, excepting reports of committees, or of ministers on laws, and accounts, can be read in either chamber.

TITLE II.—OF ELECTORAL COLLEGES, AND THE MODE OF ELECTION.

27. The electoral colleges of departments and arrondissements are maintained, with the following modifications.

28. The cantonal assemblies will yearly fill up by elections all the vacancies in electoral colleges.

29. Dating from 1814, a member of the chamber of peers appointed by the Emperor shall be president for life, and irremovable, of every electoral college of department.

30. Dating from the same period, the electoral college of every department shall appoint, among the members of each college of arrondissement, the president and two vice-presidents. For that purpose the meeting of the departmental college shall precede by a fortnight that of the college of arrondissement.

31. The colleges of department and arrondissement shall appoint the number of representatives fixed for each in the table adjoined.

32. The representatives may be chosen indiscriminately from the whole extent of France. Every college of department or arrondissement which shall choose a member out of its bounds, shall appoint a supplementary member, who must be taken from the department or arrondissement.

33. Manufacturing and commercial industry and property shall have special representatives. The election of commercial and manufacturing representatives shall be made by the electoral college of department, from a list of persons eligible, drawn up by the chambers of commerce and the consultative chambers united.

TITLE III.—OF TAXATION.

34. The general direct tax, whether on land or moveables, is voted only for one year : indirect taxes may be voted for several years. In case of the dissolution of the chamber of representatives, the taxes voted in the preceding session are continued till the next meeting of the chamber.

35. No tax, direct or indirect, in money or kind, can be levied, no loan contracted, no inscription in the great book of the public debt can be made, no domain alienated or sold, no levy of men for the army ordered, no portion of territory exchanged, but in virtue of a law.

36. No proposition of tax, loan, or levy of men, can be made but to the chamber of representatives.

37. Before the same chamber must be laid, in the first instance, 1. The general budget of the state, containing a view of the receipts, and the proposal of the funds assigned for the year, to each department of service : 2. The account of the receipts and expenses of the year, or of preceding years.

TITLE IV.—OF MINISTERS, AND OF RESPONSIBILITY.

38. All the acts of government must be countersigned by a minister in office.

39. The ministers are responsible for acts of government signed by them, as well as for the execution of the laws.

40. They may be accused by the chamber of representatives, and are tried by that of peers.

41. Every minister, every commandant of armed force by land or sea, may be accused by the chamber of representatives, and tried by that of peers, for having compromised the safety or honour of the nation.

42. The chamber of peers, in that case, exercises a discretionary power either in classing the offence or mitigating the punishment.

43. Before placing a minister in accusation, the chamber of representatives must declare that there is ground for examining the charge.

44. This declaration can only be made on the report of a committee of sixty, drawn by lot. This committee must make its report in ten days, or sooner, after its nomination.

45. When the chamber declares there is ground for inquiry, it may call the minister before them to demand explanations, at least within ten days after the report of the committee.

46. In no other case can ministers in office be summoned or ordered by the chambers.

47. When the chamber of representatives has declared that there is ground for inquiry against a minister, a new committee of sixty drawn by lot is formed, who are to make a new report on the placing in accusation. This committee makes its report ten days after its appointment.

48. The placing in accusation is not to be decided till ten days after the report is read and distributed.

49. The accusation being pronounced, the chamber appoints five of its members to prosecute the charge before the peers.

50. The seventy-fifth article of the constitutional act of the 22 Frimaire, year 8, importing that the agents of govern-

ment can only be prosecuted in virtue of a decision of the council of state, shall be modified by a law.

TITLE V.—OF THE JUDICIAL POWER.

51. The Emperor appoints all judges. They are irremovable, and for life, from the moment of their appointment ; but the nomination of justices of peace, and judges of commerce shall take place as formerly.

The existing judges, appointed by the Emperor, in terms of the *senatus consultum* of the 12th Oct. 1807, and whom he shall think proper to retain, shall receive provisions for life before the 1st of January next.

52. The institution of juries is maintained.

53. The discussions on criminal trials shall be public.

54. Military offences alone shall be tried by military tribunals.

55. All other offences, even those committed by military men, are within the jurisdiction of civil tribunals.

56. All the crimes and offences which were appropriated for trial to the high Imperial court, and of which this act does not reserve the trial to the chamber of peers, shall be brought before the ordinary tribunals.

57. The Emperor has the right of pardon, even in correctional cases, and of granting amnesties.

58. Interpretations of laws demanded by the court of a Cassation shall be given in the form of a law.

TITLE VI.—RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

59. Frenchmen are equal in the eye of the law, whether for contribution to taxes and public burdens, or for admission to civil or military employments.

60. No one, under any pretext, can be withdrawn from the judges assigned to him by law.

61. No one can be prosecuted, arrested, detained, or exiled, but in cases provided for by law, and according to the prescribed forms.

62. Liberty of worship is guaranteed to all.

63. All property possessed or acquired in virtue of the laws, and all debts of the state, are inviolable.

64. Every citizen has a right to print and publish his thoughts, on signing them, without any previous censorship, liable at the same time, after publication, to legal responsibility, by trial by jury, even where there is ground only for the application of a correctional penalty.

65. The right of petitioning is secured to all the citizens. Every petition is individual. Petitions may be addressed either to the government or to the two chambers; nevertheless, even the latter must also be entitled "To the Emperor." They shall be presented to the chambers under the guarantee of a member who recommends the petition. They are publicly read, and if the chambers take them into consideration, they are laid before the Emperor by the President.

66. No fortress, no portion of territory, can be declared in a state of siege, but in case of invasion by a foreign force, or of civil broils. In the former case the declaration is made by an act of the government. In the latter it can only be done by the law. However, should the two chambers not then be sitting, the act of the government declaring the state of siege must be converted into a plan of law within a fortnight after the meeting of the chambers.

67. The French people moreover declares, that in the delegation which it has made and makes of its powers, it has not meant, and does not mean to give a right to propose the reinstatement of the Bourbons, or any prince of that family on the throne, even in case of the extinction of the

Imperial dynasty; nor the right of re-establishing either the ancient feudal nobility, or the feudal or seignorial rights or titles, or any privileged or predominant religion; nor the power to alter the irrevocability of the sale of the national domains; it formally interdicts to the government, the chambers, and the citizens, all propositions on that subject.

Given at Paris, April 22, 1815.

(Signed)

NAPOLÉON.

By the Emperor,

The Minister Secretary of State,

(Signed)

The Duke of BASSANO.

NO. II.

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

SINCE this volume went to the press the following official documents have appeared. The author inserts them with unfeigned delight. He does not inquire whether Lewis has been compelled to do with a bad grace what, earlier performed, would have crowned him with immortal honour. He is content that the Slave Trade is abolished in France and that another important step has been taken towards the destruction of this infamous and horrible traffic.

The author has likewise great pleasure in directing the attention of the reader to the short but expressive reply of Lord Castlereagh. It removes from his mind an unpleasing impression, which had long been formed there, that the British minister had not been quite sincere in this business at the former restoration of Lewis.

(OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.)

Note from Viscount Castlereagh to Prince Talleyrand. |

Paris, July 27, 1815.

PRINCE,

The Official Order to the Admiralty, which I had the honour of transmitting to your Highness on the 25th, having suspended hostilities against the coast of France, and against

French ships carrying the white flag, I have been directed by my court, without delay, to call your attention to the necessity of guarding, under these circumstances, against any possible revival of the Slave Trade.

The British government conceive that under the operation of the law of France as it now stands, it is strictly prohibited to French subjects to carry on a traffic in slaves; and that nothing but a specific ordinance could again revive that commerce; but, whether this be the true construction or not of the state of the law in a technical sense, they feel persuaded that his most Christian Majesty will never lend his authority to revive a system of this nature which has been, *de facto*, abolished.

I have directed Sir Charles Stewart to communicate to your Highness what passed on this subject at Ghent. The assurance the King was at that time pleased to give to the British ambassador entirely tranquilized the Prince Regent's ministers on this subject; but now that his Majesty has been happily restored to his throne, they are most anxious to be enabled at once to relieve the solicitude of the British nation, by declaring, that the King, relieved by the state in which this measure now stands, from those considerations of reserve which before influenced his conduct, does not hesitate to consider that question as now for ever closed, in conformity with those benevolent principles which are at all times congenial with the natural feelings of his Majesty's breast.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

His Excellency the Prince Talleyrand, &c. &c.

Note from Prince Talleyrand to Viscount Castlereagh.

Paris, July 30, 1815.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that the King, in consequence of the conversation he has had with Sir Charles Stewart, and of the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 27th instant, has issued directions, in order that, on the part of France, the traffic in slaves might cease from the present time, every where and for ever.

What has been done in this respect by the usurper was in the first place null and void, as were all his decrees, and moreover had been evidently dictated to him by personal motives of interest, and by hopes, which he never would have conceived, had he been capable of appreciating the British government and people. It had not, therefore, and could not have, any weight with his Majesty.

But it was with regret that last year his Majesty stipulated the continuance of the traffic for a few years. He had only done so, because on the one hand, he was aware that on this point there existed in France prejudices which it was at that time advisable to sooth ; and that, on the other hand, it was not possible to ascertain with precision what length of time it would require to remove them.

Since that time these prejudices have been attacked in several publications, and with such effect as to afford his Majesty this day, the satisfaction of following, without reserve, the dictates of his inclination, the more so, since it has been proved, by inquiries made with the greatest care, that the prosperity of the French colonies not being compromised by the immediate abolition of the trade, the said abolition is not contrary to the interests of his subjects,—interests which,

above all, his Majesty thought himself bound to consult
This satisfaction is increased by the idea that his Majesty, at
the same time, does what is agreeable to to the government
and people of Great Britain.

Accept, my Lord, the assurance, &c.

(Signed) The Prince de TALLEYRAND,
His Excellency Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c.

Note from Viscount Castlereagh to Prince Talleyrand.

Paris, July 31, 1815.

The undersigned, his Britannic Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has the honour to acknowledge Prince Talleyrand's note of this date, conveying to him the decision taken by his most Christian Majesty finally to abolish the slave trade throughout the French dominions.

The undersigned will lose not a moment in transmitting this communication to his court, and he ventures, in the meantime, to assure his Highness that the King could not have taken any determination more personally grateful to the Prince Regent, and to the whole British nation.

The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH,

His Highness the Prince Talleyrand, &c. &c.

THE END.

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